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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1433

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Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Jun 77 p 2

[Article by Piro Biti: "Let Us Fight for the Triumph of Marxism-Leninism as Long as there is a Beat in Our Hearts"]

[Text] The articles, discussions and speeches that are included in Volume 24 of the Works of Comrad Enver (November 1962-May 1963) are further expressions of the concentrated political line of our party, of the unyielding struggle it has developed against imperialism, especially American imperialism, and of its struggle against modern revisionism, such as that of the Soviet Union. The works include a clear and more profound explanation of the theory behind such important subjects as the socialist revolution, the peoples struggle for liberation, the absolutely necessary fight against imperialism and temporary revisionism, and the fight for the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Although this column was written 14 years ago, its contents are still relevant and are read as answers to the problems of today. They are relevant because modern revisionism, regardless of the defeats it has suffered, remains the primary danger to the revolutionary and communist movements and a great and ever present threat to the socialist cause. They bear witness to the correctness of our party line, which responds completely to the interests of revolution and socialism in Albania and the world over.

From the moment that the leading Khrushchevian group made a world wide biased proclamation regarding the differences that existed then within the communist movement, it became clear to every true Marxist-Leninist that this open conflict, which was imposed on the Marxist-Leninist parties, was to be fought to the end and that any divergence from it was to the benefit of the modern Khrushchevian revisionists.

During the last 3 years, Comrad Enver says, since the coming to power of N. Khrushchev as leader of the party and of the Soviet Union, our party has realized that he had embarked on an anti-Marxist-Leninist road. Our leadership did not conceal its opinions or criticism from the Soviet leadership, but to the contrary made its feelings clear according to the Leninist

rules and norms. The principled position taken by our party leaders disturbed and annoyed the Soviet revisionist leadership. Together with revisionist from other countries they made up lies, set up plans, and plotted to get rid of this bone that was sticking in their throat. They did everything they could: economic sabotage, political pressure, and threats of war. They talked and wrote about the so-called "Albanian problem" which, as Comrad Enver says, does not exist as such but "is an aspect of the war between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism ... it deals with the general course of the international communist movement ... with the question of how this movement should evolve, along Marxist-Leninist lines or along revisionist lines."

In this volume Comrade Enver reemphasizes the need to fight modern revisionism to the end. He says, "if true communist parties and revolutionaries everywhere in the world fail to unmask modern revisionists, they will win ... we must fight against revisionists with determination and by all means in our power." He declares: "Let us fight for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism as long as there is a beat in our hearts."

In the joint struggle against modern revisionism, especially against the Khrushchevian revisionism, our party's friendship with the People's Republic of China has become stronger and as Comrad Enver said, in a speech to a delegation from the professional unions of China, our friendship has a deep and revolutionary meaning based on proletarian internationalism.

To justify their cooperation and submission to imperialism and the modern revisionist bourgeoisie, all opportunists used to say and still say, "times have changed," imperialist leaders have become "reasonable," American imperialism has lost its teeth, that socialist victories and the peoples struggle for liberation are so great that they are compelling imperialism to hold back in the race for peace, etc. Comrad Enver casts down these deceptions and illusions. He says that imperialism is not in a position to do anything at all to develop according to its plans, but this does not mean that it has changed its natures, that it is no longer aggressive, that it can become soft or receptive to advice. Comrad Enver's Works make it clear that the difficult imperialist and social imperialist positions are created by peoples in their revolutionary struggle for liberation, independence and socialism, and not by different bourgeois and revisionist leaders and their contradictions.

Peoples, Comrad Enver says, have to be vigilant and prepared to face all imperialist aggression and interference, especially that of the United States. They have to be ready for revolution and sovereignty. To accept the Khrushchevian points of view on imperialism, he says, "means to lower the peoples vigilance, to extinguish the revolutionary momentum and to halt the struggle of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the takeover of power, it means to deny the socialist revolution." Comrad Enver emphasizes that by protecting Marxism-Leninism with determination, true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries in the world will be ready to



take over power by force, because the path of revolutionary strength "not only assures the victory of revolution, but has the advantage, in the peoples fight, of preventing imperialism from starting a war."

For our party, world war is not absolutely inevitable; the struggle against imperialism and revisionism has never been separate from the proletarian revolution; nor has the struggle against imperialism been separate from the struggle against revisionism and aloofness.

Volume 24 of Comrad Enver's Works shows once again that our party has seen the peoples national liberation movement against imperialism, "as one of the greatest movements of our time, which undermines the imperialist positions, narrows and weakens its sphere of domination ... as a strong ally and powerful support in the revolutionary war of the international working class and the socialist nations."

Our party not only has supported the revolutionary anti-imperialist peoples fight for national liberation, for liberty, independence and social progress, but has always considered that international aid towards it is an international duty for true socialism and the world proletariat. This aid can be real, effective and consistent only when imperialism and social imperialism are fought without regard for the consequences.

By consistently supporting the peoples' anti-imperialist war, our party has unmasked the "nonaligned" theories of the Yugoslav revisionists and others, it has unmasked the policy of "equilibrium" in the war for peace, as, "the most important condition in the struggle for socialism." These "theories" are for the purpose of luring the peoples into passivity and finally into the lap of the imperialists powers. N. Khrushchev accused our party and all those who struggled, in the same way against American imperialism of making "bombastic delcarations" and "empty insults" which in no way damaged imperialism. Time has shown that not unmasking imperialism completely, not wagging a fierce war against imperialist plans for the enslavement of peoples, but on the contrary having illusions about it, cooperating and embracing it lead to the betrayal of the revolutionary peoples war and to the betrayal of those who are threatened by imperialists and social imperialists.

In the midst of the struggle that the party and Comrad Enver were wagging at this time was the complete and public unmasking of the Soviet Khrushchevian revisionism. Soviet revisionism, as revisionism in power, was fast dissipating the socialist victories and the victories of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, was driving them to social imperialism, treacherously destroying them and thus committing the worst crime against the international proletariat, the revolutionary war and socialism the world over. The concentrated attacks against Soviet revisionism never prevented our party from waging a determined and principled war against revisionism in general, and particularly against its more pervasive and dangerous branches.

The war against Yugoslav revisionism, was then, as it is today, a line of demarcation between true and false Marxist-Leninists. The post war decisions

that were taken at the meeting of the international communist movement, resolutions that Khrushchev and his group were obliged to underwrite at the meeting of the 81 parties in Moscow in 1960, which openly and unanimously denounced Yugoslav revisionism, were most brutally trampled in contradiction of every Leninist principle. The cooperation, the drawing together and finally the merging of modern revisionists with the Yugoslav revisionists, was prepared years ago carefully and with determination in order to present a single united revisionist front. This happened, as Comrad Enver points out, not because Yugoslav revisionists had changed, "but because the attitude taken by Khrushchev and his group has changed, they have gone over to revisionist positions."

The words of N. Khrushchev on modern revisionism as the principal danger to the international communist workers movement were wrapped up in empty words. In fact, the fight has ceased not only against Yugoslav revisionism but against all revisionism. The counter-revolutionary ideas of P. Togliatti, the Italian revisionist leader, had spread outside of Italy. The bourgeois press was their greatest advocate, and revisionists, who considered themselves communists and Marxist-Leninists and were leaders of parties in the Soviet Union and other countries, pretended not to understand this, on the contrary, with their compliance, their silence and their obligations, they smoothed the way for revisionists in Italy and all the others in capitalist countries. In analyzing the revisionist race of the Italian revisionist leaders which was clearly defined in the program they had prepared for the opening of their congress Comrad Enver wrote ... "the controversies among the leaders of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian bourgeoisie are of no importance, these two have come into contact and are likely, in the near future, to come even closer together on more fundamental matters. They will end up as servants of American imperialism just as the leaders of the greater Italian bourgeoisie have done."

Time has proven the accuracy of this analysis. The bourgeois press in Europe and America today, explains that the coming to power of the "Euro-communist parties," (they are thinking here of Berlinguer's and Marchais' revisionist cliques, especially that of Carillo), "is not dramatic," but advantageous for the United States. "Euro-communist" parties now "have passed the test of democracy." When it is a question of political pluralism and the safeguarding of NATO their leaders, "are serious and worthy of trust." Every day they give "proof" of their loyalty to ... capitalism. Carillo, the chief Spanish revisionist, declared to the whole world that the monarchy created by Franco is democratic and beneficial to Spain. Carillo decided to burn the flag of the Spanish Republic and grasped the flag of Spanish Fascism. Every day bears out that which Comrad Enver said at the seventh party congress: that modern revisionists in their eagerness to cooperate with the bourgeoisie have become bourgeois themselves; they are now defenders of the bourgeois order, soldiers of the counter-revolution.

The exposure of modern revisionism Comrad Enver says, showed that many old communist parties were rotten from within. However, the true revolutionaries

fought with courage, faced obstacles and innumerable difficulties, in many places they were forced to open the way with their blood, for the formation and consolidation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties. These parties today are the parties of revolution and socialism in the world.

Comrad Enver's writings and discussions covering those months show once more his great faith in these new, truly revolutionary forces and the great faith in these new, truly revolutionary forces and the great importance he accords to their activities. Comrad Enver says, "there are millions of communists and workers in the world who oppose modern revisionism and flight for the protection of Marxism-Leninism ...." In Comrad Enver's works we also see how our party has carried out its international duties.

Volume 24 of Comrad Enver's works is another weapon which the Albanian communists and workers can use in their selfless struggle for the construction of socialism, and the protection and triumph of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism and opportunism. The study of this work awakens in every conscientious person a legitimate pride for the consistent, deeply Marxist-Leninist line of our workers party, which finds its highest expression in the works of our beloved leader Comrade Enver.

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BULGARIA

ACTIVITIES OF U.S. INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS OUTLINED

Sofia POLITICHESKA AGITATSIYA in Bulgarian No 11, 1977 pp 76-80

[Article by Nikolay Metodiev: "The United States Espionage Complex"]

[Text] The process of detente in international relations is encountering an ever-fiercer opposition on the part of some Western circles. In this respect we must particularly emphasize the role of the espionage-subversion complex--the most active and most secret and, consequently, the most dangerous instrument in the hands of reactionary forces.

What does the espionage complex of the United States represent? What are its organizational structure and principles?

It is headed by the National Security Council with its operative arm, the Committee of 40, now headed by Vice President Walter Mondale and President Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. They provide the political guidance and coordination of the actions of all espionage centers. The organizations themselves are the following:

The Central Intelligence Agency;

The Pentagon's intelligence agency with the intelligence agencies of the various branches of armed forces: army, air force, and navy;

The National Security Agency;

The State Department Investigations Bureau;

The Atomic Energy Commission;

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI);

Even though the CIA is always first on the lists, it is not the biggest espionage organization. In terms of budget and personnel the Pentagon center (which collects military information and manages the huge army of military attaches, specialist instructors, and subversion schools), and the National Security Agency, which deals with data collected with the help of artificial

satellites, ships, and reconnaissance aircraft, and the decoding of diplomatic and military cables and telephone and radio communications with foreign countries, vie for the leadership.

From the very first days of their existence the U.S. espionage organizations have been closely linked with big monopoly capital, the huge multinational corporations, and the old billionaire families of Morgan, Rockefeller, Dupont, Vanderbilt, and others. They are serving the global imperialist ambitions of these families and their financial and cadre policies. They do not obey the laws of the United States but are above them.

"...I do not want to boast but there is no political event in the world in which our enterprise is not participating with its actions," asserted unhesitatingly Richard Helms, former CIA director, to the French periodical POINT.

All this easily explains the phenomenon clearly visible today: from an information-gathering center, nominally subordinated to the government and accountable to the Congress, the U.S. secret services have become a power center paralleling the Congress and the White House.

However, even this is part of the organizational model of the secret services and could not be considered an accidental phenomenon.

In 1963 ex-president Harry Truman (historically known as the creator of the CIA) tried to justify himself: "...for quite some time I have been concerned with the fact that the CIA activities are departing from the initial tasks. The CIA became the operative arm of the government determining the political course of the country. Creating the CIA I never believed that in peacetime as well it would engage in cloak-and-dagger operations. Certain complications which we had to surmount, however, partially explain the fact that this purely investigative and consultative organ of the president has departed to such an extent from its purpose that it is presented now as a symbol of sinister and secret intrigues..."

Naturally, the former president is deliberately misleading. The CIA and the other secret services are precisely what their creators wanted them to be, for it was precisely Harry Truman who, in addition to signing a presidential decree setting up the CIA, signed another one (subsequently amended to apply to the other organizations) according to which:

"...The effect of federal laws requiring of establishments accurate information on functions and purposes of positions held, wages, number of personnel employed, and so on, is not binding to the CIA..."

This means that, armed with this law, the chiefs of the special services spend huge totally uncontrolled funds, organize and implement political, propaganda, and even paramilitary operations to overthrow governments

unsuitable to the United States, liquidate undesirable political figures, and change the political course of other countries and even of its own political leadership. To this day the CIA has been unable to dispel well-founded doubts that the elimination of President Kennedy was, in fact, a conspiracy of the extreme right, controlled and quietly directed by the CIA and the FBI, and that this was the way they got rid of a president who, in their view, had gone too far in his realistic attitude.

Desirous to acquire a maximally flexible, powerful, and effective apparatus for espionage, subversions, and pressure on other governments, the political leadership of American imperialism gave this apparatus such unlimited rights that under certain circumstances it is no longer able to control and direct it. Here additional elements interfere: the White House strengthened these rights in order to use the secret services in its fight with the Congress for supremacy and operate on the international level without being tied by any diplomatic conventions whatsoever. In such cases CIA "clandestine" activities are nothing other than the government's "self-justification" since the government must nevertheless take into consideration established diplomatic practices and world public opinion.

The struggle for supremacy waged among various monopoly groups and affiliated generals, politicians, and others, is reflected also in relations among the Congress, the White House, and the secret services.

This explains the impunity of the American special services which, even though disregarding all laws and moral and ethical norms, and even though they have taken firm hold on the Americans themselves, do this with no control whatever. However, this is what the leaders of American imperialism continue to demand: to control and watch over the feelings of anyone living in the U.S. capitalist society, regardless of appeals for "human rights," "freedom," and similar others.

They operate in that direction and are well aware of the fact that all committees, whether set by the Congress or the White House, are nothing more than well-directed demagoguery.

It is precisely these elements in the structure of the secret services that are used by the military-industrial complex and the extreme right in their struggle against detente. It is on this level that an alliance of the extreme right was set up, consisting of Pentagon generals, secret service professionals, and arms manufacturers.

A characteristic feature in the struggle against detente is the well-developed plan for a double game: the espionage complex publishes forged data on the "Soviet military menace;" this was done through "information leaks." The Pentagon leaders immediately caught the ball and proclaimed such information "accurate." The mass information media linked with the rightists immediately opened the propaganda campaign.

Actually, the problem is far more complex than it seems on the surface. In addition to the strategic objective of discrediting socialism and limiting the detente process, the West pursues several tactical objectives as well: to create before the Belgrade meeting the type of atmosphere which will make it possible to reject Soviet initiatives and to promote military programs for the production of 244 B-1 planes (costing \$23 billion) and 11 nuclear submarines (yet another \$11 billion).

Paralleling the development of this campaign is the building of "unofficial structures" of the right wing for purposes of launching propaganda activities against detente. They include the "Committee on Present Danger" and "Commission for the Supervision of the Execution of the Helsinki Decisions" in the United States; the Institute for Strategic Studies (linked with the CIA and the British intelligence service). In the FRG this role was assumed by the CDU/CSU opposition and by people such as Franz Josef Strauss and Gen Harald Wuest, Bundeswehr inspector general.

There was a time when the U.S. special services dreamed of organizing "opposition" parties in the socialist states. When nothing came of such ideas the model of the dissidents was developed. Through their agents and mass information media, the U.S. secret services always have a new "dissident" available.

The peak of the campaign against socialism and detente was the organized campaign for the defense of human rights in the socialist states. Its main point was speculations on the violation of the Helsinki decisions in the humanitarian field.

The development of contacts with the neofascist international is continuing. Its commandos maintain a "tension strategy" by kidnaping people, killing noted public figures, and planning terrorist and military actions against democratic forces.

To an ever-greater extent the secret service professionals are changing their tactics. Without abandoning their cloak-and-dagger methods they are trying to ascribe a political and propaganda nature to their activities. Currently they are interested in the dissemination of the bourgeois concept of "Eurocommunism," energizing the social democrats, and promoting the political integration of right-wing forces. That is why the operative center of the espionage complex was established in Switzerland, i.e., at the border with Italy and France; the head of the embassy in Berne and, therefore, of the operative center, is Nathaniel Davis--the man who organized the coup d'etat in Chile; Harlan (Muun), another old CIA agent, was appointed consul in Trieste.

The tactic remains unchanged: let us change in order to remain the same. This indicates attempts at reaching a certain flexibility of American imperialism but not the appearance of political realism.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HANA PONICKA SPEECH TO SLOVAK WRITERS UNION CONGRESS

Rome LISTY in Slovak/Czech No 3-4, Jul 77 pp 8-9

[Text] Following is Hana Ponicka's speech to the Third Congress of the Slovak Writers Union on 2 March 1977, which was not delivered because of the time limit set for discussion, but submitted by the authoress for inclusion in the official Congress record.

Esteemed Assembly:

We are now holding our third Slovak writers congress. During the 5 years since our last congress, which took place in Bratislava on 31 May 1972, each of us, I am sure, has written something, has had new books, plays or other forms of literary production published or performed. In terms of quality the situation in contemporary Slovak literature is not too bad since the works of our Slovak classics are being published in carefully prepared editions, and Slovak translations of world classical literature also appear in new editions. In order not to be impersonal I confess, that I, too, have made a contribution: I have to my credit a story written in the recent period which was made into a feature-length movie that is to be shown in our motion picture theaters this year. The first volume of my trilogy for children is to be published this year also; and two other volumes will follow later. Since our last congress I have also published prose poems about a Slovak graphic artist who fought and died in the Slovak National Uprising. I won an award for this work in the contest organized in connection with the 30th anniversary of Slovak National Uprising. And yet I am not, I cannot be, satisfied.

In the vicinity of my village I often see many crops on the fields still unharvested in the fall. But I feel grieved also by the crop unharvested from our literary fields.

For 9 years we have been living in the atmosphere of extraordinary society-wide tension. Despite the long duration of such tension, works regarded as good by the readers and also by sophisticated literary reviewers can be



and are being created. Yet, while these works are created, immeasurable damage is created too. We have lost several major writers in recent years. They passed away but their works continue to be published. However, in addition to them, we have also lost a large number of important writers who live here or elsewhere and possess full creative powers. For a number of years their books have not been published. Such writers as Dominik Tatarka, Peter Karvas, Ladislav Tazky are still not members of our organization of writers; nor are they permitted to have their work published. Even Zora Jesenska's very valuable translations from Russian, Soviet and English classical and contemporary literature, in contrast to the works of other recently deceased writers, do not appear because they must not appear. Because her name was not among those mentioned before we observed a moment of silence in tribute to the memory of all our writers who died recently, I will do so by observing a brief pause in my speech now.

To this day, other former members or candidate-members of our organization of writers, as well as nonmembers and those who work for our literary and cultural periodicals such as Jan Rozner, Pavel Hruz, Milan Hamada, Jozef Bzoch, Fedor Cadra, Miroslav Kusy, Zlata Solivajsova, Miroslav Hysko, Michal Gafrik, Julius Vanovic, Ctibor Stitnický, Frantisek Andrascik, Stefan Moravcik, Roman Kalisky, Juraj Spitzer, Albert Marencin, Agnesa Kalinova, Sona Cechova, Ladislav Dobos, Ivan Kadlecik, Jan Kalina, Tomas Vinkler and others cannot publish their poems, prose and translations or write articles and literary reviews in the hope of having them published. If there are some errors in my list because administrative measures affecting some authors were changed in the meantime, it is not my fault. We meet within our organization more rarely than ever before, and we therefore know very little about one another.

Many creators of literature, literary criticism, commentaries and plays are still missing from our ranks. Their names have been deleted from the book catalogs, and their books have disappeared from the shelves of our public libraries.

And yet these friends, colleagues of ours, move and live among us, or rather around us and outside our circles. They work in various jobs which are not necessarily the worst possible ones in each individual's instance, but which are mostly inappropriate and inferior. Some of the young ones who did not have time to become members of the Slovak Writers Union took up picks and shovels, but there are also some among them who literally languish physically, morally and intellectually--on pensions. The particularly striking aspect is the fact that years ago many of them were awarded the highest artistic titles and honors by our socialist state. As far as I know, they have not been deprived of these titles. I therefore conclude that they did nothing for which they could or should be tried and eventually deprived, on the basis of a court sentence, of their titles. Nor will I ever forget that picture of our contemporary literature which unfolded before my eyes a few years ago when, in connection with my lectures and discussions at schools in different okreses, both students and teachers and professors of Slovak

showed me entire pages crossed out in the literature textbooks. What will these children have learned about our recent history by the time they leave school--these young people who have had to cross out with their own hands in the textbooks the names and works of our living authors whom they were taught to respect and love only a short time earlier? This picture of our "crossed-out" contemporary literature must be included in our review of the period between our congresses. So must be the cases when books were recalled after the type had already been set to print them when newly printed books of our disqualified writers were shredded.

The congress of Czech writers is also convening in Prague today. Maybe someone there is reading--if there is someone like that--a much longer list of writers and authors by whose elimination contemporary Czech literature has been impoverished to date, both in terms of quantity and quality. From time immemorial Czech and Slovak literature, as well as the entire Czech and Slovak cultural history, have always had important milestones and developmental stages in common. For this reason, the losses on the one side multiply the losses on the other, and vice versa. It must be stated with regret, however, that the losses of creative forces suffered by Czech literature, arts and entire culture are incomparably great than those suffered by the Slovak side.

Personally, I regard the fact that these big losses have been allowed to continue as a major blunder of our cultural policy, as a gross injustice inflicted upon our writers, literatures, arts, cultures. By doing an injustice also to the cause of socialism in our country and other socialist countries, as well as to the socialist ideals of progressive people in countries with different social systems.

At a conference on Czech poetry in Prague 21 years ago, poet Vitezslav Nezval said: "As long as there is a single poet in this country who feels that he cannot publish his works, comrades, there is something wrong here." And a year later, poet Frantisek Hrubin said at the Second Congress of Czechoslovak Writers in Prague in 1956: "He among us who is satisfied with walking about and writing, who collects his royalties with pleasure and falls asleep peacefully as if he knew nothing, who does not say loudly: 'Injustice is being done here!' is a disguised bourgeois and egotist, and he who manages to feel shame only in private is a coward!"

Esteemed assembly! I can no longer manage to feel ashamed only. I can no longer manage to feel ashamed in private only for the fact that I am permitted to publish my works while others are not. I do have an excuse for myself, namely, that I was one of those who believed for a long time, who hoped that conflicts would be resolved and injustice remedied; I worked in the editorial office of a youth periodical from the fall of 1968 until the end of 1971 because I wanted to help especially the young people through the difficult situation facing our entire society. Then I somehow gradually lost hope; but I had to create a new work environment for myself, I had to do something. I worked with great physical and intellectual effort, and

eventually I found my place in the new environment where things are called by their right names. After long deliberations and daily discussions with people commuting to work from our village to factories, railroads and various enterprises from adjoining villages, or people working on farmsteads and on the fields of the unified agricultural cooperatives, in other words, after having gained new experience and knowledge, and after having, naturally, followed the events both at home and abroad as reported in the press and by our and foreign radio stations, I have decided to speak frankly about what hurts and worries us. We suffer morally, and our moral suffering is caused by the moral ordeal of other people, by the constant discrepancies between words and deeds, by the rampant half-truths and lies, by the constant hypocrisy and incomprehensible interventions which are harmful to our society. One of our poets of Ludovít Stur's generation said 130 years ago: "People love one another in our country!" Another poet said: "People sing in our country!" And our poet--the people--because the people have been our greatest poet to this day, unsurpassed in striking sparks of energy from their poetry even in the times of the most ruthless oppression--this poet of ours, the people, as represented by a concrete man, says today: "Lies are spread in our country now!"

And let us listen to what he tells us: "I would not say anything, if these lies were spread on a small scale only. After all, I myself deceive my old lady a little once in a while when I hold back some money for a drink without her knowing. But here lies are spread all the times, and we learn some truth only on Sunday. And can we freely profess religion? One has to move surreptitiously behind the barns to have one's child baptized! And equality? This is what we see: a child, mind you, graduates with honors, passes the entrance examinations, both parents are blue-collar workers, and yet the child is not admitted to the school even if the original rejection is appealed. After all, everybody knows that even the ruling on the appeals is made, usually in advance, by the higher authorities. That's what I was told in the office, and may I burn in Hell if it's not true." Our man concludes his monolog and goes on looking for an opening for his child at another school, in another okres.

Our people are thankful to the system for their material advancement and are devoutly attached to socialism. Yet, they also have a soul--and what a soul they have had since time immemorial!--and are therefore not content with the satisfaction of their material needs only. A man wants to enjoy full personal dignity and respect, the respect of people around him for everything that is inherent in him; respect also for his ability to think independently and to arrive at value judgments and opinions without constant persuasion and without having rigid readymade views forced upon him, without fear that he might face unpleasant consequences if he answers an "a" not always with an "a," but sometimes with a "b, c, d, e" all the way to a "z." Part of the full dignity of man, a member of our community, is also the feeling of real freedom of religion and of performing the appropriate rites. After all, the full third of our CSSR population which entertains religious beliefs cannot be converted by force to atheism overnight.

I am not trying to review in detail or from an expert point of view our entire literature published since our last congress because I am not familiar with all the new works. Nevertheless, I usually glance through recently published books and occasionally find very good or even excellent works among them. I have also found, however, that experiments and innovations have become extremely rare in our contemporary literature, while conventional taste, ideas and forms have become standardized. Moreover, those innovations which do occur here and there are not particularly welcome. The significance of outstanding works whose authors are not on the list of favored, officially promoted writers is systematically depreciated--they can publish their works but without publicity. Big gaps thus arise in our contemporary literary criticism and history. But the range of methods employed in restricting the activity of writers and literary critics is quite varied. It is in fact so varied and individual as to be fascinating.

Esteemed assembly! I am coming to the end. For the most part I have spoken critically, for if I talked about the subject in words of praise, this would be--following all the laudatory articles on our contemporary literature recently published in our press--like carrying coals to Newcastle. But I also have spoken predominantly critically because I wanted to be cautious: I wanted to prevent some periodicals from publishing only certain commendatory excerpts from my speech. This happens in our country even to writers who are members of the Federal Assembly. In conclusion I would like to take the liberty of proposing that our contributions to the discussion of this congress be published. I hope that our press, which has recently demonstrated such an interest in our writers and their signatures, will likewise be willing to provide room for the speeches delivered in the course of the discussion at their third writers congress.

I thank you for listening.

Bratislava 2 March 1977

[signed] Hana Ponicka

Editorial note: As reported in the prominent French daily LE MONDE (which published a substantial part of this speech) Hana Ponicka was expelled from the writers union in April this year. She is not permitted to publish her new books and the movie based on her script must not be shown.

10501  
CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CAPITALIST VERSUS SOCIALIST CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 13, 20 Jun 77 pp 48-50

[Article by Zdenek Kostal: "Two Concepts of Human Rights"]

[Text] The contemporary era is characterized as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. It is an era of an acute class struggle in every area of social life, in politics, economy and ideology. The idiosyncrasy of this class struggle in its current stage appears most of all from the fact that, in view of the continuously growing power of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist system, its gravity point has shifted to the ideological area. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said already at the 24th CPSU Congress: "We are living in conditions of unceasing ideological war waged against our country, against the world of socialism, by imperialist propaganda, which is using very sophisticated methods and efficient technological means. All tools influencing people's thought which the bourgeoisie holds in its hands--press, film, broadcast--are being mobilized to confuse the people, to instill in them the illusion of almost heavenly life under capitalism, and to slander socialism."<sup>1</sup>

What bothers the bourgeois politicians and ideologists most of all is the fact that--unlike the capitalist countries, which are undergoing a deep general crisis--the socialist countries are characterized by their highly dynamic growth and that they are facing a bright perspective for their further development, as was confirmed, also, by the conclusions of the recent congresses of their communist and workers' parties. In particular, the growing cohesion of the socialist countries, the consolidation of their economic and defensive potentials and the ensuing, decisive effect of those countries on the development of world events are a thorn in the flesh of the world imperialism, especially of its most reactionary forces.

The international development has indicated, more and more, that world socialism, which is successfully promoting the trend for the consolidation of world peace in international policies, is gaining incessantly more followers on every continent and is serving as an attractive example to

all progressive forces in the capitalist world. Therefore, the opponents of social progress, peace and detente--the heralds of the "cold" and "hot" war--are trying to stop the process of detente. For that purpose, contemporary anticommunism is, also, changing its policies and attempting to create an internal split within socialist countries with the assistance of the so-called forces of internal opposition, the dissidents. In coordination with and the aid of such "internal forces," international anticommunism has also unleashed a propaganda campaign for the defense of the so-called human rights in the socialist countries.

As concerns human rights and their alleged "violation" in socialist countries, the purpose and aim of the campaign of anticommunist centers is, most of all, to lead away the attention of the national masses in the capitalist world from their own pressing social economic problems. Their intention is to conceal the deep controversies of capitalism and its inability to solve such controversies, and at the same time to discredit socialism. Precisely by means of the renegades of socialism they are trying to conceal the violation and trampling of the fundamental civil rights and freedoms of the working man, which is typical for capitalism.

Thus, the fear of progressive forces within the capitalist countries and the fear of the growing strength of world socialism and of its example and influence on the working people in the entire world has prompted the bourgeois ideologists to fabricate lies and slander about the life in the socialist countries, where rights and freedoms are realistically guaranteed to all the working people.

Every social phenomenon, therefore, also human rights and freedoms, must be understood specifically from the point of view of history, not abstractly. That means that we must always study the existing specific social relations that are determining the real extent of man's freedom. From that perspective it appears that no "natural human rights" exist at all but that such a concept is only a bourgeois interpretation, dating from the era when the bourgeoisie appeared on the world scene as a progressive class in the struggle with the representatives of feudal society and when the emphasis on the natural character of human rights and freedoms played a positive role.

Karl Marx pointed out the limitations of the bourgeois concept of the so-called natural human rights and freedoms already in his early work "On the Jewish Question" in 1843, dealing with the problems of man's emancipation. Proceeding from his analysis of the rights of man and citizen as proclaimed in various declarations (North American and French), Marx concluded that human rights proclaimed by the bourgeoisie are nothing more than rights of man as a member of the bourgeois society. Such human rights, as equality, freedom, security and private ownership, are in fact nothing else but specific rights of the members of a society based on private ownership and on egotism. As Marx said, those are "the rights of an egotistic man, a man separated from the human substance and solidarity,"<sup>2</sup> i.e., an isolated

individual separated from society, from real social needs and interests. Thus, in this civil, i.e., bourgeois, society man was not "liberated from ownership; he was given freedom of ownership. He was not liberated from egotism of undertaking; he was given freedom of undertaking."<sup>3</sup>

The abstract concept of "natural human rights," of liberty, equality and fraternity, therefore, reflects the social position of man as an isolated individual in atomized production conditions of the capitalist society. In comparison with feudalism, these conditions permit and demand formal equality of rights and freedoms of all citizens of the capitalist society based on private ownership of means of production. The letter of the law entitles everybody to do this or that, i.e., to be, for example, an entrepreneur or to do nothing, or just to keep on searching for a job forever and even to die of starvation.

In his masterwork "Capital" Marx points out that such formal rights and freedoms have become in fact anarchy and bondage. "The area of the circulation or exchange of goods within which the purchase and sale of the labor force takes place is the real paradise of man's natural rights. Here only liberty, equality, ownership and Bentham<sup>8</sup> are reigning. Freedom! Of course, the buyer and the seller of goods, for example, of labor, follow nothing but their free will. They are making contracts as free individuals with equal rights. The contract is the final result where their wills find their common legal expression. Equality! Of course, they are entering their mutual relations only as owners of goods and exchanging equivalent for equivalent. Ownership! Of course, everybody disposes only of his property. Bentham! Of course, each of them is minding only his own business...." And when he is leaving the area of simple circulation or exchange of goods, the former "owner of money proceeds as a capitalist, the owner of labor follows him as a workers... proceeding timidly, reluctantly, as one who came to the market with his skin and cannot expect anything but to get skinned."<sup>4</sup>

These words of Marx, although articulated more than one hundred years ago, are still valid in their fullest sense and import also in the conditions of state-monopolistic capitalism. In the capitalist society even today the rights and freedoms of its citizens are expressing human relations based on "purchase and sale" of goods. The ruling bourgeois circles are even now completely ignoring the problem of the material, i.e., factual guarantee of equal rights and freedoms of man.

Most constitutions of the capitalist countries do not safeguard such fundamental, important rights as the right to work which is included in the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights around which--and around the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights--anticommunist propaganda unleashed a campaign of lies against the socialist countries. At the same time, not one of the capitalist countries has in fact ensured the right to work, without which man cannot provide the basic necessities for his own life and for the life of his family. What then could be

the value of the formally postulated human rights to life: freedom of movement and free choice of residence, for protection against any kind of discrimination, not to mention such rights as every man's right to just and satisfactory working conditions, just wages and rewards for work, decent life, rest, recreation and social security, in other words, rights which are anchored in the already mentioned International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights?

All human rights and freedoms may be proclaimed by declaration. However, if the necessary economic, social and political conditions are not provided for their implementation, if such social relations which enable all working people to enjoy those rights are not imposed, then such rights and freedoms serve only those who are holding the necessary means for their exploitation, i.e., the minority of the people. Formal equality, right and freedom are turned here upside down into actual inequality, bondage and injustice. That fact does not change in the least by illusions of small owners and of some impecunious groups believing that with some "luck" they can acquire property and climb up the "social ladder."

If we say that no abstract all-human rights and freedoms exist in the class society, that does not mean that we are denying the existence of certain all-human values and their legal expression. The opposite is true; however, such all-human values as the value of human life, equality among people, freedom, etc., must be always interpreted from the scientific standpoint, in other words, a specifically historical, class approach must be observed here.

Such an approach must be applied also in the interpretation of the aforementioned international pacts which were presented for signing to all UN member states on 19 December 1966 and which the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has also signed.

Those were precisely the socialist countries that waged a very intensive ideological struggle for putting those pacts into a more acceptable and realistic form than, for example, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted in December 1948 and which has a totally abstract character. The fact that the pacts on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights contain such a right as the right to work and social security is a great achievement of the socialist countries. Evidently this very fact has prevented such capitalist countries as the United States and Great Britain from signing those pacts.

Such is, however, the logic of the matter. To be sure, not only those two, but not any one capitalist country (including those which signed the International Pacts and whose constitutions formally declared those rights) can in reality ensure the right to work and social security. At present there are roughly 8,000,000 unemployed in the United States and about 6,000,000 in the European Economic Community countries, with anticipated additional rise of unemployment.



And if the international pacts stipulated not only the right to work for everyone and the right to "just and satisfactory working conditions" (International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, part II, article 3), then such an equality of men and women in the capitalist world is actually achieved only in the reverse form, i.e., in equal right to be employed. Italy, where 5 million women cannot find steady employment, may serve as an example. The situation of the young people under 25 years of age is similar, if not worse. At present there are 7 million of them unemployed in the capitalist countries, not counting young teachers, physicians, etc. At the same time these young people cannot even apply for the minimum unemployment benefit, because they have never been employed.

The advantage of our socialist system does not appear by far only in the implementation of those most fundamental human rights which are guaranteed not only by our Constitution and the Civil and Labor Code, but, and this is the decisive factor, which are being fulfilled in our citizens' daily lives. Not only are there no unemployed in our country, but also other extensive social and retirement benefits have been implemented here as in few other countries in the world, such as free medical care, mother and child care, and care for those who are no longer able to participate actively in the labor process, etc.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is among the countries with the lowest age limit determining the eligibility for retirement and well-deserved rest. It is 60 years for men and 53-57 years for women (according to the number of their children). The pension rate is determined on the basis of average income for the last 5-10 years of active work and of the number of years in employment. The pension from income (which on the level of current average wages amounts to about Kcs2,400) is over 70 percent. In France the quota of old age pensions for average wages is only 24 percent, in England 29 percent, in the German Federal Republic 42 percent and in Sweden 47 percent.<sup>5</sup> Our socialist society has devoted considerable attention, also, to the care for families with children and for mother and child. For example, in addition to a one-time bonus at the birth of a child (Kcs2,000) our state offers maternity benefits of Kcs500 for a second child up to two years of age and Kcs700 for two children (i.e., for the second and third child), if the mother had been employed prior to their birth.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, the allowance for 2 children represents roughly 19 percent and for 3 children more than 38 percent of the average wage, while the average benefit paid for one child amounts to Kcs210 per month.

In our country the situation of the right to education is analogous. It is not only formally proclaimed by the laws but also materially supported. Education is free and, moreover, many students of higher educational institutions are receiving scholarships from our socialist state.

As concerns the right to vote and to be elected to representative assemblies, it is expressed and guaranteed by our country's constitution as the law of universal suffrage (i.e., an equal and direct law to vote and to be elected

which is not limited in any way, except by the age limit) and primarily by the fact that the over-all composition of our representative assemblies reflects the class, social and national structure of our society. This cannot be said at all, for example, about the composition of the U.S. Congress, French Parliament, the Federal Assembly of the German Federal Republic or the Houses of Lords or Commons in Great Britain, in other words, those countries which regard themselves as the "vanguards" of democracy and freedom. Primarily those individuals who are holding the means of production and capital or their lackeys are represented in bourgeois parliaments. In our country the people are governing themselves.

It is not in the socialist countries where the most fundamental human rights and freedoms are being ruthlessly trampled upon, such as, for example, racial toleration, activities of progressive social organizations, etc., in addition to those mentioned above. The capitalist countries and contemporary imperialism, which became the hotbed of racism and fascims are using the most brutal forms of violence, not only against the progressive forces in those countries but also waging aggressive wars against other countries, as in Vietnam, Cambodia, etc. It is imperialism which supported and continues to support the fascist regime in Chile, the Israeli aggressors, the racist regime in South Africa and elsewhere.

The facts confirm that there are two concepts of human rights and freedoms: the bourgeois concept--in which human rights and freedoms are formally conceded, but, in fact, they represent only the rights and freedoms of the exploiting classes and their lackeys--and the Marxist-Leninist concept--which understands rights and freedoms of man from the specific point of history. This means that it proceeds from specific social relations where the rights and freedoms are to be implemented, from the question whether such relations provide or do not provide opportunities for man's free, conscious activity. That is a scientific concept, which does not deny the significance of the formal legal recognition of human freedoms but puts the greatest emphasis on their actual, material guarantee.

Only a socialist state, which is based on social ownership of the means of production and in which exploitation of man by his fellow man has been eliminated, is able to guarantee human rights and freedoms in the legal and simultaneously in the material form. This reality, these undeniable advantages of socialism over capitalism in the question of human rights and freedoms are not changed in the least, even by the fact that, even in a socialist society, there may appear some individuals who have certain authority but who, at the same time, are not always able to correlate their rights and freedoms with their own responsibility to society for their implementation. Connected with that are symptoms of subjectivism and bureaucracy, which may impair even the generally valid principles of socialist democracy. As the lower stage of communism, the socialist society cannot be absolutely immune against such phenomena, but its own essence directly calls for a fight against such shortcomings and errors.

The scientific, specific historical approach to the problem of human rights and freedoms, which unmasks the nonsense of the statements about absolute freedom and democracy, demands, at the same time, that we say openly to the anticommunist and antisocialist forces that those forces do not have and will never have any freedom to uproot the socialist system. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 16th Congress of the All-Union Central Committee of Soviet Labor Unions: "In our country nobody prevents anybody from 'having views different' from the majority and from critically appraising this or that area of public life.... It is a different story if a few persons, split from our society, are actively working against the socialist system, entering the road of anti-Soviet activity and violating the laws; and, because they are not getting any support in our country, they are seeking help abroad, in imperialist subversive propaganda and intelligence centers. Our people demand that such, begging your pardon, functionaries be treated as enemies of socialism, as people who are going against their own country, as helpers or even agents of imperialism. It is only natural that we are taking and that we shall apply measures stipulated by the law against them."<sup>7</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Zprava o cinnosti UV KSSS XXIV. sjezdu KSSS," [Report on the Activity of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the CPSU], Svoboda, Prague, 1971, p 73.
2. K. Marx-B. Engels, "Spisy" [Collected Works], Vol 1, SNPL [State Publishing House of Political Literature], Prague, 1961, p 387.
3. Ibid., p 392.
4. K. Marx, "Capital" [Capital], SNPL, Prague, 1954, p 195.
5. "Nova kvalita zivotni urovne lidu a hlavni smery jejího rozvoje" [New Quality of the People's Living Standard and Main Movements of Its Development], published by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CPCZ Central Committee, January 1977, pp 34-35.
6. Ibid., p 39.
7. See RUDE PRAVO, 22 March 1977.
8. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), English bourgeois sociologist, theoretician of utilitarianism--bourgeois ethical view that gain-profit is the basis of individual and social ethics.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CZECHOSLOVAK VISA SAID EASY TO OBTAIN

Prague DOKUMENTACNI PREHLED in Czech No 24, 1977 pp G7-G8

[Text] In comparison with Czechoslovakia, all capitalist countries have a more complex policy when issuing visas. Czechoslovak embassies and consulates are competent to issue most types of visas. Visas are usually issued within 48 hours. This is true even at such embassies as in Vienna, where 220,000 visas are issued every year.

On the other hand, a Czechoslovak citizen applying for an Italian visa must fill out four forms, give the purpose of the visit, references, date of departure, point of entry and means of transportation. It takes 3 weeks to issue a visa. For the Netherlands it is necessary to fill out five forms and a visa is issued in 3 weeks. For the United States, two forms must be filled out and a visa is issued in 7-30 days; the applicant must even answer questions about political affiliation, etc.

The CSSR has agreements for requiring no visas not only with socialist, but also with Western countries. An agreement with Finland, valid since 1975, makes visas unnecessary for all types of travel documents. Another agreement for requiring no visas exists between the CSSR and Austria for holders of diplomatic and official passports. Aside from this, the CSSR has agreements with capitalist countries (Sweden, Cyprus, India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, etc.) about visas without fees. An already initialed agreement with Austria regarding the issuance of visas without fee for trips with economic, scientific, cultural and sports purposes is now waiting for approval.

In 1976, 17 million foreigners visited the CSSR (more than one visitor for each Czechoslovak citizen) and 7 million Czechoslovak citizens traveled abroad (i.e. nearly every other one).

In 1962, 168,000 Westerners came to the CSSR. This number grew to 674,200 in 1964, 904,862 in 1975 and 970,839 in 1976. Some 300,000 to 400,000 persons travel each year from the CSSR to the West.

While citizens of Western countries stay an average of 3-5 days per person in the CSSR, Czechoslovak citizens stay abroad an average of 21 days

(counting tourism, official travel and transit). For instance, every year 350,000 citizens of the FRG visit the CSSR for 3-4 days (for the purpose of tourism, officially and in transit) and from the CSSR, 80,000 persons annually travel to the FRG for 21 days on the average. In relation to the population figures of both countries, citizens of the CSSR spend twice as many days in the FRG as citizens of the FRG spend in the CSSR.

Every year 6,000 journalists come to the CSSR, 2,000-3,000 of them from nonsocialist countries. Some 100 journalists remain in the CSSR on long-term assignments. They are from the large press agencies (TASS, Reuter, AFP, DPA and AP), from radio and television and from the world's newspapers. In agreement with the Final Act of the Helsinki conference they have freedom of movement within the CSSR. They have multiple entry and exit visas which are renewed every 6 months.

The CSSR enables young people to become acquainted with young people abroad. The Socialist Union of Youth is becoming internationally active and has its own Travel Agency for Youth. More and more young people from the CSSR participate in international voluntary brigades, internships and other activities.

Within the last 10 years, 60,000 citizens emigrated from Czechoslovakia (they were mostly of German nationality and they went to the Federal Republic of Germany to join members of their families).

During the second half of 1976, 75 out of the 81 emigration applications for minor children whose parents were living abroad were granted by the Czechoslovak representative authorities abroad, 31 of which were to the FRG.

The CSSR also allows its citizens to marry citizens of any other country and to visit members of their families abroad.

9030

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF PARISH COUNCILS DISCUSSED

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 17 No 7, Jul 77 pp 7-9

[Article by Karl Hiekisch: "Does Politics Belong in the Parish Council? --Reflections on the Outcome of the BEGEGNUNG Poll." For related information (Parts I and II of poll) see the following JPRS issues of this series: 69254, 15 Jun 77, No 1400, pp 16-20; and 69420, 14 Jul 77, No 1416, pp 13-15]

[Text] The editorial board of BEGEGNUNG has sponsored a survey on the question "Does Politics Belong in the Parish Council?" in the sense of a "public discussion." Answers given by members of these ecclesiastic bodies and from other Catholics who are members in their congregations have been published in issues 4 and 5 of 1977. Those published views can certainly not be presumed to be representative of the situation in all parish councils of the church in our country. They nonetheless do permit a number of inferences regarding the effectiveness, or lack of effectiveness, of the statements by the Second Vatican Council on the role of the Christians in the modern world.

It cannot be by coincidence that all the replies -- even if with different emphases and, at times, with certain reservations -- advocate that the parish council treat questions concerning the religious and civic life of the Catholics, which opposes confining them to a so-called purely religious or internal-church sphere. It reflects that particularly under socialist conditions Catholics have gone beyond their individual sphere in gaining new foci for their service to their fellowmen and to peace. For it has been the steady appeal made by the leading social force in our country for responsible participation in a policy that aims at the well-being of man and a permanent order of peace that has been directed at all citizens, regardless of their religious conviction and world-outlook. These experiences also demonstrate that there is no contradiction between ecclesiastic and social commitment. Conciliar decrees, such as the Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity, actually command the Catholics to stand up competently in public life and not to renounce public assignments because assuming and fulfilling them well would serve the common weal.

Practice after all has demonstrated -- and the survey results are confirming it -- that attention given to such experiences can only benefit the solving of tasks in up-to-date and relevant pastoral and charity work that encompasses all of man and his concrete environment. Genuine life support out of pastoral responsibility can be made available effectively to the members of the congregation, in the final analysis, only when it transcends the wall of the church and when neither sermon nor service are tending toward a "ghetto mentality" but turn to everyday questions, and thus to the fullness of life, as well. That kind of pastoral work that takes in all of man appears not to have become as yet a part of the practical work of the church in our country everywhere.

This does not mean to promote a Christianity that would focus exclusively on man and his world and ignore divine autonomy. Christian witness-bearing is by no means confined to social activity, nor is faith to be equated with human fellowship. Nor is it a matter of placing church organizations like the parish councils functionally on the same level with the "Christian Circle" study groups of the National Front or the local CDU groups. As little as the church can and will be "socialized," it is equally inconceivable and impossible to reorganize church councils into political forums.

The survey results also reflect, however, a "double-track" sentiment still encountered rather frequently in the parish councils. One's life as a Christian is often "cleanly" set apart from that of a citizen in the profane community. Questions, above and beyond congregational concerns, affecting problems of social progress, development and social justice, and even the commitment to peace, which transcends interhuman relations, frequently are considered "taboo" or cannot be dealt with for "lack of time." In some places such a position even leads active members of church councils who in their personal conviction and experience are bound to regard such a permanent "split" as intolerable to a sense of resignation. The Christian message, however, does not detract people from building the world but commits them to coping with that task. In its pastoral constitution "Gaudium et spes" the church explicitly expresses "praise and respect for the work of those who, in service to men, devote themselves to political work and bear the responsibility for such function." Some views expressed in the survey unfortunately demonstrate the wide field of tension still existing between conciliar spirit and its practical application.

The primary function of the church cannot be to preserve itself and take care of its members. The same holds true for the church councils. They, like the church as a whole, are meant to be there "for others." In proceeding, as Christians, from that the message of Christ is important for all men, we must be able to see it also as a contribution to peace in this world and to the well-being of all people. The objection could be raised that this is secularism. Yet would it be conceivable for a man swearing by God to refuse the world his active concern and service? The question would then have to be asked what kind of God this is who lets himself be loved like this, by bypassing man and his world.

If Christians thus are being called upon for responsible participation in society, it offers a vast field of activity to the church councils in particular. The message of the church facilitates numerous points of departure for it. One may refer here, in addition to the basic documents of the Council, among other things, to the Pope's insistent appeals on behalf of the World Peace Day of our church, the encyclicals "Pacem in terris" or "Populorum progressio," and the Vatican's UN memorandum on disarmament questions. Several pastoral appeals in the resolutions of the GDR Pastoral Synod also still call for further details and application, as for example: "Christians are called upon to awaken and safeguard, through their word and example, the sentiment of peace, together with all people of good faith who find peace rooted in the order of justice and love" (service of the church to reconciliation and peace); and "The Christians are encouraged to fulfill their tasks and services in the hope for salvation. In accordance with the gospel they are to assume their coresponsibility for the world and commit themselves to peace and justice, freedom and love" (faith today).

Through the freedom and the commitment of faith the large majority of the Catholics in our republic did, with awareness, find its place in socialism and helps shape it with responsibility. The chairman of the State Council, Erich Honecker, stated before the People's Chamber of the GDR in October 1976: "Our socialist society offers every citizen, regardless of age and sex, world-outlook and religious faith, safety and security, a clear perspective and the possibility for fully developing his abilities and gifts and his personality. On that we firmly rely." This statement unmistakably expresses that the full development of personality also is assured for the Christian citizens, now and in the future. Relying on that kind of assurance and on our practical experiences, we find that the reservation some Catholics still have to the effect that Christians could not commit themselves to a society shaped by Marxism-Leninism has no foundation in fact.

Many Catholics now take for granted that Christians and communists have been talking and working together in our country for many years as if it had never been different. This cooperation includes everyone, it aims at peace and at the well-being of all in the construction of a society which grants a safe place to all men of good will. The appeal by the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of June 1976 for greater cooperation between communists and Christians has emphatically underscored the need and urgency of such cooperation.

It of necessity implies the mutual respect for diverse spiritual positions, which is still difficult for some Catholics. Noteworthy remarks about this were offered by the Protestant theologian Prof Dr Helmut Fritzsche of Rostock in a contribution to the CDU presidial conference, "Tradition and Commitment," on 21 February 1977. He came to the following conclusion: "Respect for Christians is firmly tied in with the common political struggle and so, deeply tied up with waiting for the 'evidence of the spirit and the power' (Lessing) which manifests itself in a deliberate political participation and in the willingness to acquire the knowledge needed for the management and understanding of social processes. Respect for the spiritual identity of



Christians then becomes respect for the partnership that moves toward the joint goal of socialism-communism." With reference to the, historically, still new cooperation between Christians and Marxists in our republic Fritzsche then observed that life in our society, however, was no "picture-book idyl without tension or conflict" because fellowship among men wholly without conflict did not exist at all. And his final result was this: "On one point the Christian and Marxists views on life converge though they proceed from different sources, that is, in the conviction that all these tensions present problems that can be solved, and then also in the realization that a sensible resolution of tensions through common work and communication can make people more mature."

A common interest in basic concerns is not tantamount to monotonous uniformity. A Christian motivation taking its clues from the ethical maxims of the gospel is likely to differ from one people of other persuasions will regard as decisive. Christians thus will have to answer many questions different from those of their fellow citizens who do not believe in God. And that is also true, in particular, for the parish council. Examples from his practical experience given by Manfred Stierl (in issue number four of 1977) -- problems resulting from the legal rules on abortion or from the demand for communist education for Christian parents or for young Christians -- could be multiplied without effort.

In competently clarifying such and other matters, those members of church councils doubtless have the advantage who, along with experiences from their practical work, can also point to matters of their own personal social commitment. More and more, discussions held within the framework of the study groups of the "Christian Circles" of the National Front and talks between the CDU's local executive committees and the members of church councils are found a useful source for helping in the clarification of problems of Christian existence in socialism. For that is what is intended with such encounters and not, as members of Catholic congregations sometimes think, to have committed Catholics this way "hitched to the propaganda wagon of the National Front."

The council structure of the church, a fruit of the conciliar spirit of the collegiate church, is something without which we could no longer conceive of the life of our church today -- and this is true in spite of all the qualifications that have to be made respecting its effectiveness. It lends new impulses to the testimony and service of the church in the concrete social environment through the experiences the lay public has made in working with dedication for both church and society. This also is the concern of the survey as of this contribution in offering suggestions for what the church can do in our socialist society.

5885

CSO: 2300

# FUNCTIONS OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE DESCRIBED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 13, Jul 77 pp 391-393

[Article by Dr Harri Harrland, GDR deputy prosecutor general: "Status and Tasks of the Public Prosecutor's Office in the GDR"]

[Text] In the course of the further organization of the developed socialist society and on the way to communism the further consolidation of our state power and the planned extension of socialist legal order represent a single entity.<sup>1</sup> When commenting the law on the public prosecutor's office of the German Democratic Republic (StAG) of 7 April 1977 (GBL I p 93), Dr J. Streit, prosecutor general of the GDR, stated that this law is another step toward the aim "in accordance with the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to synchronize the law with the needs of social development."<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of the Ninth SED Congress decisions the steady strengthening of socialist legality proceeds in the reciprocal relation of two linked aspects: The planned extension of the socialist legal order consonant with the maturity of the socialist society and the consistent implementation of socialist law as the general will of the leading working class and the other classes and strata allied to it--a general will which is binding upon the state.<sup>3</sup>

The new StAG quite specifically reflects the dialectical unity of these two elements. Consonant with the current socialist development conditions in the GDR it regulates the constitutional status, the duties and basic modus operandi of an organ of the united socialist state power, specially appointed to serve the strict and standardized enforcement of socialist legality in our country.

Assurance of Socialist Legality and the Greatest Possible Security Under the Law

The greater maturity of the socialist society, the further development of the leading role of the working class, the evolution of socialist democracy and the objectively growing importance of socialist law in this developmental process require the steady consolidation of socialist legality and, therefore,

the increasingly effective prevention of and campaign against crimes and other offenses against the law. The StAG expresses the fact that the juridical guarantees of the assurance of socialist legality and the greatest possible security under the law are expanded and perfected as planned.<sup>4</sup>

The new law, like the old, settles the functions, rights and duties of the public prosecutor's office on the basis of Lenin's well tried conception of the socialist public prosecutor's office.<sup>5</sup> It sets out how, in the present actual conditions of the further organization of the developed socialist society in the GDR, the public prosecutor's office must help guarantee the strict observance and uniform application of socialist law for the defense of the socialist state and social order, the national economy, socialist property and the rights of the citizens.

The StAG meets the objective social requirement further to establish the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party and, in combination with this process, to develop socialist democracy and strengthen socialist legality. Public prosecutorial supervision serves the task uniformly to realize the general will of the leading working class, the general social interest as coinciding with the interests and needs of everyone at work and as expressed in GDR legal regulations. Public prosecutorial supervision equals care for the implementation of the juridical policy of the working class, the uniform state policy of the workers and farmers power which represents the interests of the people as a whole. The above principles are directly fixed in article 1 paragraph 1, article 2 paragraph 1 and paragraphs 35 and 48 StAG. They are more precisely defined in a series of other provisions. These include primarily the strict subjection of the public prosecutor's office to the constitution, the laws and other legal regulations of the GDR (article 1 paragraph 1, article 36 StAG).

The operation of the public prosecutor's office is one of the juridical guarantees of security under the law, which represents a basic element in the social security of the working people in the socialist social order and helps encourage the evolution of the socialist lifestyle. The functions of the public prosecutor's office must always be considered in close connection with the tenet that our law serves to bring to bear the fundamental advantage of the socialist society, organize the united action of all working people (led by the Marxist-Leninist party) with the aid of democratic centralism, and uniformly enforce socialist state policies. To this requirement corresponds the explicit duty of the public prosecutor's office to discover offenses against the law, follow up all clues pointing to such offenses (article 29 paragraph 2 StAG) and ensure that the measures provided by the law are taken against offenders (article 1 paragraph 2 StAG). It is of the nature of public prosecutorial supervision to see to it that all managerial responsibilities for the observance of socialist legality and the assurance of order and security as well as the pertinent duties are consistently discharged (article 2 paragraph 2 StAG).

## Domains of Public Prosecutorial Supervision

The public prosecutor's office is not concerned independently and by administrative means to redress offenses against the law. Its responsibility is confined to bringing each case for decision to the competent organ and/or director of that organ, or the courts, "so that the interpretation of legality may become completely standardized in the republic as a whole."<sup>6</sup>

The law therefore provides four domains of public prosecutorial supervision. As per article 3 StAG the public prosecutor's office must

- Conduct the investigation and ensure the legality of the investigations carried out by the investigating organs and the administration of imprisonment pending trial;
- In the course of the trial cooperate in the strengthening of socialist legality, especially by supplying the indictment in criminal trials and presenting it to the court;
- Watch over the legality of the implementation of measures concerning penal responsibility, the execution of the sentence and the reintegration of the released prisoner into social life;
- Supervise the strict observance of socialist legality by all state organs, economy managing organs, combines, enterprises and facilities, cooperatives, social organizations and citizens.

These four branches of public prosecutorial supervision have long evolved and proven their worth in the GDR. The specific function, rights and duties of the public prosecutor's office have been regulated and organized by additional laws, transcending the basic provisions of the StAG. That holds good for supervision of investigations (criminal procedure), public prosecutorial collaboration at trials (judicial organization, criminal procedure, civil procedure)<sup>7</sup> as well as for supervision of the execution of the sentence and the reintegration of released prisoners (law on the execution of the sentence, law on reintegration). An exception is the general supervision of legality for which the StAG is the only source. That is why the functions, rights and duties of the public prosecutor's office in this sphere are further defined in articles 29-33 StAG, and so are the responsibilities of those subject to supervisory measures.

The term "general supervision of legality" reflects the fact that this is not a general control function but exclusively involves supervision of the strict realization of socialist legality. The StAG meticulously sets out the organs and facilities subject to general supervision of legality (article 29 paragraph 1). People's representations are not included.

There are detailed provisions concerning the powers of the public prosecutor's office for examining the legality of measures and decisions (article 30 StAG).

Explicitly provided is the feasibility of conducting public prosecutorial investigations in situ (article 30 paragraph 1 sentence 2 StAG). However, the prosecutor general of the GDR reserves to himself the authority to direct or allow such independent investigations if, in specific cases, no adequate leads indicating crimes are available, which it would be the legal duty of the public prosecutor's office to pursue.

#### Deploying General Supervision of Legality in a Differentiated Manner

The StAG requires the differentiated deployment of legal means and measures of the general supervision of legality to counter crime. Written protests, in particular, must be considered if an offense is regarded as serious in view of the extent, manner of commission or effects, if committed repeatedly or if decisions or normative provisions injure socialist legality (article 31 paragraph 2 StAG). In other instances written instructions are to be used. In the case of minor infringements involving simple matters of fact, the public prosecutor's office--especially when investigating the matter itself and in the actual locale--may orally present the requirements for removing the offending factors (article 31 paragraph 3 StAG).

All legal means and measures of general supervision of law are organized consonant with the supervisory nature of the institution and include the mandatory obligation of the competent organ or director himself to take a decision corresponding to socialist legality (article 31 paragraphs 1 and 4 StAG). This also holds good for the new provision by which, in connection with public prosecutorial investigations of illegalities, the temporary suspension of the execution of decisions by state organs may be applied for, if this is deemed necessary to protect the rights of citizens (article 33 StAG). The competent state organ alone is empowered to decide such an application. However, by the very fact of the application having been lodged by the public prosecutor's office, the state organ is induced to undertake another thorough investigation.

The legal regulation fully corresponds to the tried and tested socialist conception according to which the public prosecutor is responsible for ensuring "that not a single decision of any local authority runs counter to the law, and only from that standpoint is the public prosecutor obligated to object to any unlawful decision. At the same time the public prosecutor is not authorized to annul the decision..."<sup>8</sup>

The law also provides for the responsibility of the recipient of supervisory measures promptly to remove the criticized offense, prevent any repetition and safeguard socialist legality (article 31 paragraph 1 StAG). The public prosecutor's office must be informed of the respective managerial decisions and measures (article 31 paragraph 3; 32 paragraph 3 StAG). In cases involving article 31 paragraph 4 StAG it is up to the public prosecutor to fix an appropriate term. This provides better opportunities for taking into account the actual circumstances in the case than the former 2-week term generally applicable in the old StAG.

## Public Prosecutor's Contribution to the Further Development and Perfection of Socialist Democracy

The StAG obligates the entire operations of the public prosecutor's office especially to observe the indissoluble connection between socialist democracy and strict legality. The main trend of the further consolidation of the socialist state power is the further development and perfection of socialist democracy. The public prosecutor's office must render an increasingly effective contribution to this development. The more and more extensive progress of the democratic activism of the working class and all working people for the strict realization of their socialist law is the crucial task for the further consolidation of socialist legality. There is no other way. That is why permeating all sections of the StAG is the task assigned the justice and security organs by the party of the working class "even more closely to link their operations with social activism for the assurance of order and security."<sup>9</sup> (See, for example, articles 2, 4, 9, 15, 24, 27, 31, 36).

It must be emphasized that the law does not allow any restrictive interpretation, that is application to only some types of activism by the working people. On the contrary, it orients to the utilization of the entire spectrum of opportunities offered by our society and to the encouragement of any new emerging aspects. Every public prosecutor must at all times be aware that the crucial sources of the strength of our advance are found in the rising emphasis on the leading role of the working class and its party in society and in the development of socialist democracy. These are two aspects of the same truth.

It is therefore imperative fully to exploit the legal opportunities for the cooperation and collaboration of the working people in investigations, trials and the reintegration of those released from prison, as well as in the education of the criminally endangered and the implementation of the general supervision of legality, and as much as possible for the public prosecutor's office to assist the mass movement for exemplary order and security.

Of course here also the development of socialist democracy is not an end in itself. Democratic activism must be socially effective. It therefore is and remains an important and constant duty to work to develop with growing effectiveness the working people's involvement in the prevention of and campaign against offenses of all kinds.

"Our efforts are focused on the effective prevention of and campaign against criminality."<sup>10</sup> That responds to the basic orientation of article 97 of the GDR Constitution. At the same time it is necessary increasingly well to realize public prosecutorial duties as a whole "with the aim of achieving permanent effects for the consolidation of socialist legality."<sup>11</sup> This is reflected most strikingly in the requirement to realize the unity of prosecution, general supervision of legality and law propaganda. K. Rubitzsch<sup>12</sup> impressively demonstrated how best to meet this requirement by citing an actual case. In this instance purposeful efforts were made to ensure that the needed social lessons

were learned from the offense and the circumstances of its commission, and that this understanding was achieved in the necessary breadth, definition and differentiation. The utilization of the appropriate public prosecutorial measures was organically linked to persistent law propaganda and law education for the reinforcement of the social state and law consciousness and the development of social activism for the prevention of offenses.

One of the most striking provisions of the StAG (see article 2 paragraph 1 and article 4 paragraph 3) consists in its insistence on the link between public prosecutorial supervision with the propagation of socialist law and law education. This points up the growing responsibility of the public prosecutor's office for contributing to the development of a standardized interpretation of legality and the appropriate attitude, such as is already noticeable in V.I. Lenin's conceptions. The unity of public prosecutorial supervision and law education must more vividly bring home to the citizen that socialist law is the reflection of working class power and serves the interests of the working people, the defense of the socialist order and the freedom and human dignity of the citizens. We are here concerned with a definite contribution to the diffusion of the value concepts of the working class (freed from exploitation) regarding right and legality, freedom, equality and justice as the constitutional rights and liberties of the working people, which in fact can be guaranteed only by the socialist order and are reflected not least in the codetermination, co-organization and realization of the socialist legal order by the working people.

#### Great Requirements on Cooperation

One of the basic prerequisites for the advanced and comprehensive efficacy of public prosecutorial supervision is its planned, coordinated, synchronized and far-sighted cooperation with the organs of justice and security. Article 11 StAG directly so mandates the public prosecutor's office at all levels. Only by the planned and comprehensive cooperation of the organs involved in the respective region will it be possible to ensure the lasting consolidation of legality, and such cooperation must therefore be developed even more effectively.

Such close cooperation with the organs of justice and security is also a basic precondition for classifying the tasks involved in the continuing consolidation of socialist legality in the total process of the development of the socialist society, directed by the people's representations. The StAG strongly emphasizes the public prosecutor office's cooperation with the people's representations, the other state organs, the economy managing organs, the state and social control organs, the social organizations and the committees of the National Front (article 4 paragraph 1, article 9). The obligation therefore arises systematically to improve the efficiency of the public prosecutorial contribution.

In accordance with its specific function to watch over the strict observance of socialist legality--based on article 98 of the constitution--the status

of the public prosecutor's office is determined as that of a central organ of the united socialist state power (article 1 paragraph 1 sentence 1 StAG). It is a unitary organ and not subordinated locally. The prosecutor general is elected by the People's Chamber for the duration of its term and is responsible to it and, between meetings of the Chamber, to the Council of State. (Article 5 StAG)

All public prosecutors are appointed and dismissed by the prosecutor general (article 37 StAG). They are responsible and accountable to him and to other public prosecutors superior to them (article 8 paragraph 3 StAG). Subordinated to the prosecutor general are bezirk and kreis public prosecutors as well as military prosecutors, all of whom are assisted by the requisite number of public prosecutors (article 8 paragraph 1 StAG). The work of all public prosecutors is subject to the constitution, the laws and other legal regulations of the GDR and the instructions of the prosecutor general (article 36 StAG).

Of course all these are well tried principles concerning the status and organization of the socialist public prosecutor's office and their observance provides the best possible guarantee that the public prosecutor's office affects the strict and uniform implementation of socialist legality throughout the land, regardless of local influences. At the same time the prosecutor general must ensure that the knowledge gained from public prosecutorial supervision is utilized for central state direction (article 7 StAG). This demand results in growing requirements on the provision of data and the quality of such data circulated within the public prosecutor's office.

The precondition for the best possible efficiency of the public prosecutor's office is the quality and power of persuasion provided by its operations. The public prosecutor is very particularly obligated in all his activities to observe socialist legality in an exemplary fashion as well as to demonstrate justice and lack of bias to all. He must cooperate closely with the working people, consolidate their confidence, be actively involved in social life and constantly strive to further his education (article 36 paragraph 2 StAG). The public prosecutor's closeness to the masses and the relevance of his entire work is among the crucial factors determining the efficiency of this work in the course of the further organization of the developed socialist society.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See K. Sorgenicht, "Staat, Recht und Demokratie Nach dem IX. Parteitag der SED" [State, Law and Democracy After the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin 1976, p. 126.
2. See J. Streit, "Perfection of the Legal Bases for the Operations of the Public Prosecutor's Office," NEUE JUSTIZ 1977, p. 253.



3. See E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin 1976, p 113; "Programm der SED" [SED Program, 1976, p 43.
4. See K. Sorgenicht, as before, pp 127 ff.
5. See V.I. Lenin, "On 'Dual' Subjection and Legality," in Collected Works, Vol 33, Berlin 1962, pp 349 ff.
6. Ibid, p 351.
7. On the differentiation of public prosecutorial cooperation in court proceedings see H. Harrland, "On the Cooperation of the Public Prosecutor in Civil, Family and Labor Code Proceedings," NEUE JUSTIZ 1977, pp 288 f.
8. See V.I. Lenin, as before, p 351.
9. See SED Program, p 43.
10. See J. Streit, as before, p 254.
11. Ibid, p 255.
12. See K. Rubitzsch in this issue.

11698  
CS0: 2300

EAST GERMANY

ORDER SPECIFIES 1978 MEASURES INVOLVING LABOR CODE

[For related information (text of new labor code), see JPRS 69483, 25 July 1977, No 1422, pages 37-38 of this series]

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 23, 26 July 1977, pages 297-299, contains an order, dated 13 July 1977, on the planning and financing of measures for 1978 connected with the new GDR Labor Code.

The order is broken down into the following sections:

Article 1: Purview

Article 2: Principles

Article 3: Enterprises

Article 4: State organs and installations incorporated in the budget

Article 5: Socialist cooperatives, enterprises, and installations of other types of property

Article 6: Final provision

Enclosures 1 and 2, page 299, to this order pertain to Articles 3 and 4 and concern the format for accounting for increases in the enterprise share of compulsory insurance for workers and employees as well as for inapplicability of wage-adjustment payments for work disability cases.

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

COUNCIL OF CULTURAL RELATIONS ESTABLISHED

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian 12 Jul 77 p 733

[Resolution No 1027/1977 (12 July) by the Council of Ministers on the Establishment of the Council of Cultural Relations]

[Text] 1. In the interest of forming guide principles for international cultural relations and in order to oversee the carrying out of them, the Council of Ministers establishes the Council of International Relations (hereinafter: Council).

2. The Council will be an organ to provide counsel, opinion, coordination and supervision for the Council of Ministers.

In the performance of its duties, the council will cooperate with the Committee on Scientific Policy and with the Committee of International Economic Relations.

3. The following will be in the council's scope of authority: a) establishing the guide principles for international cultural and educational relations and guide principles for the carrying out of the international cultural and educational--as well as of the intercountry and and intergovernmental scientific--agreements and working plans and the continual overseeing of, and requiring systematic reporting from, the activities of the organizations which have responsibilities in this area, the scientific-technological cooperation conducted with the socialist countries is not within the Council's circle of authority;

b) following with attention, and providing guiding principles for, the work of the Hungarian sections of the intergovernmental cultural- cooperation committees created with the socialist countries;

with the exception of the Hungarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Cultural-Cooperation Committee, the presidents, vice presidents, secretaries and members of the Hungarian sections of these committees are appointed by the Council's president;

c) supervision of the Hungarian UNESCO committee and of the National Scholarship Council.

4. a) the Council's chairman: the appropriate deputy chairman of the  
of the Council of Ministers
- b) the Council's vice chairman: the president of the Institute of  
Cultural Relations
- c) the Council's members: the minister of culture  
the foreign minister  
the minister of education  
the secretary general of the Hungarian Academy  
of Sciences  
the president of the National Technological  
Development Committee  
representatives of the social organizations  
requested by the Council of Ministers
- d) The council's secretary is appointed by the council's president.
5. The council establishes its own agenda.
6. Management and administrative tasks related to the council's operation  
will be handled by the Institute of Cultural Relations.
7. Expenses related to the council's operation must be assured in the  
budget for the Institute of Cultural Relations.
8. This resolution becomes effective on the day it is published.
9. Simultaneously with the taking effect of this resolution,
  - a) the Government resolution No 1016/1962 (30 June) Korm. and also the  
Council of Ministers Resolution No 1030/1974 (22 June) Mt. h. point  
No 5 will lose their effect;
  - b) In the Government Resolution No 1018/1963 (31 July) Korm.  
the Council must be understood instead of the Managing Presidium  
of the Institute of Cultural Relations;
  - c) Government Resolution No 1007/1968 (24 March)Korm. will be modified  
as follows:  
  
-- the fourth paragraph of its Point I/5 will be replaced by the following  
order: "-- the chairman, vice chairman and members of the Council of  
Cultural Relations and the chairman and deputy chairmen of the Institute  
of Cultural Relations,"
  - Section II is amended by the following point 1/A: "1/A. The chairman  
of the Council of Cultural Relations appoints -- with the exception of the  
Hungarian section of the Hungarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Cultural-

Cooperation Committee -- the presidents, vice presidents, secretaries and members of the Hungarian sections of the intergovernmental cultural cooperation committees existing with the socialist countries."

-- The second paragraph of its point II/11 loses its effect.

signed Gyorgy Lazar, President, Council of Ministers.

8584

CSO: 2500

AIR RAID SHELTER CONSTRUCTION REPORTED

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian No 7, Jul 77 p 7

[Article: "Expediently, Economically"]

[Text] When there is talk of shelter construction, everyone thinks in terms of millions of forints. But the construction expense of shelters to protect against fallout primarily requires a significantly smaller amount, which can be further decreased if one does not mind the time and effort which must be spent to take into consideration the possibilities.

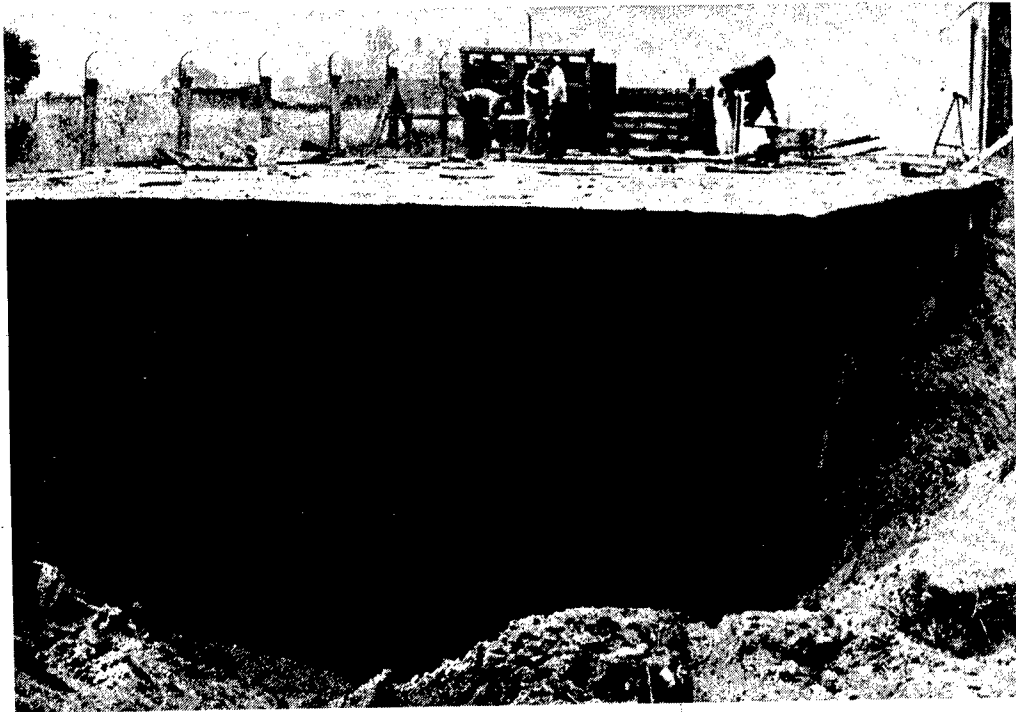
Plans are to create establishments to protect against fallout in the areas of the cities and jarases [zones] in Pest Megye. Vac Jares has also prepared a specific plan about this. And they have begun to investigate, with respect to the plan, how good establishments could be created economically.

The house factory of the No 43 Construction Industry National Enterprise operates in Dunakeszi. The house factory collective proved to be a good partner in carrying out the ideas of the jaras group. Thus the opportunity opened up for the purchase of such an off-specification panel which is inexpensive but serves the purpose well. And the Canube Valley Construction Industry KTSZ [Artisan Cooperative] not only provided the area for the construction of the shelter, but Bela Mayering, the chief of technological rescue, also provided experts to direct [the project], who guaranteed the technical correctness of the construction.

Plans of the establishment with a 21 x 12-meters area were also prepared by the cooperative's technological collective. The establishment will cost about 100,000 forints by the time it is completely finished. And after it is completed, it will be in service to solve the city commandery's storage problem, thus at the same time they are also making sure that, in case of need, it should be able to be placed on ready alert at any time.

The cooperative's technology specialists have since developed the original idea further, and they are going to build a social establishment above the shelter, in which they will locate a cafeteria and locker rooms.

The example of the Dunakeszi people provides food for thought, since house factories are operating at an ever increasing number of places where they could also assist in the construction of such emergency shelters.



8584  
CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### MORALE PROBLEMS, INEFFICIENCIES OF RAILWAY SYSTEM DEPICTED

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 10 Jul 77 pp 6-8

[An excerpt from a book by Gyorgy Moldova titled "Akit a mozdony füstje megcsapott" (He Who Was Touched by the Smoke of a Locomotive); published as part of a series on the railways under the title "Old and New Station Masters"]

[Excerpts] "There were mistakes, there are mistakes, there will be mistakes." The comment of an old Bataszek station master on a deficiency certificate.

Jaszfenyszaru is a fourth class station on the Hatvan-Szolnok line. It has three tracks; one is the main through track; the second is a safety siding; the third does not receive trains but is used only for loading.

The express trains do not stop at the station, primarily because the express trains do not even go by it. The superstructure would bear speeds over 100 kilometers--it was built by soldiers in 1963--but there are as many different types of signal equipment on the line as there are stations, most of it with obsolete motors, and this makes it impossible to introduce uniform higher speeds. Trains take almost 1.5 hours to make the 58 kilometer trip to Szolnok.

On this line also, as throughout the country, passenger traffic is declining. He who is in a hurry does not travel by train. The station building is far from the village; bus routes are multiplying in the area; and there are more and more private cars. In 1974, 37,365 travellers passed through the station; in 1975 there were only 31,710. The average daily in-take of the cashier does not reach 1,000 forints.

Even the market-women are being weaned away from the train; rented trucks take them from the gate of the farm to the market in Szolnok or Salgotarjan and the producer cooperatives and state farms also transport fresh produce and tomatoes by truck. It is ever more difficult for the station to achieve loadings of 300 tons per month, which is what the plan prescribes for



Jaszfenyszaru, and apparently insignificant things have an effect, for example if the wind is blowing when the green peppers are planted and the first planting gets pulled out then fulfillment of the plan becomes dubious at the station.

In the main season, when there would be deliveries and they could make up the shortfall, they do not get enough freight cars. The producer cooperative and the state farm submit their requirements--cars must be ordered one day early for domestic shipments and two days early for export, because there are higher technical demands for these shipments, for example, they must have passenger train brake equipment--the Jaszfenyszaru station master writes them in his register and reports to Hatvan. Hatvan forwards the order to Szolnok from which a freight train with a switching engine and empty cars starts the next day, usually at night.

The train chief divides up the cars, he has a record of the requirements, but order quickly breaks down. The first larger station after Szolnok is Ujszasz, the train stops; maybe Ujszasz has asked for only two cars. But now they take off 15. Let us presume that the train chief is honest and tries to stick to his instructions.

"This car is for Jaszfenyszaru?"

"Where are you now?" asks the traffic manager on duty.

"Ujszasz."

"So, leave it here. We need it, you won't have any more problem with it."

There is no debate, the traffic manager has a right to ask for cars, he has won the battle and the train has lost. The train goes on. If it has a few cars left they are taken off at Jaszbereny. It goes to Jaszfenyszaru only for the record.

"First come, first serve" rules more and more in dividing up freight cars and various tricks are spreading. One or two cars are detached on the sly at stations at night, carrying forward the end light so that if the train chief looks back he will not notice. The producer cooperatives try to win the favor of the train chiefs, filling the cab with peppers and tomatoes.

"Take them, boys," the chiefs tell the locomotive personnel, "even if they are knocking down the door from the other side because they can't be cured of it."

They hide cars. At one station they spent 7 or 8 days half loading an Austrian OBB car because a neighboring artisans cooperative was exporting pliers the next week and they wanted to be sure. The deliberate loss of Hungarian cars is more common. From a higher point of view this is hardly better than sabotage because if possible every car should make its money every day, as I reckon it at least 500 forints.

The entire Hungarian railway is struggling with a shortage of cars, making use of cars from capitalist countries, using more than its share of the joint CEMA car park, and still it is not enough.

The freight trains which are late or delayed for various reasons decrease the car park further in practice, "reduce" the country, because billions get tied up, the factories and agriculture wait for goods and machines in vain. The delayed cars threaten the railway itself; if their number reaches two thirds of all cars then the Hungarian railway is choked. Every second car must be in motion, must be working; runs must be accelerated and their work must be better organized. Both praiseworthy and reprehensive examples can be cited. An Italian firm was shipping automobiles to Hungary, on special auto carrying cars. Since one had to pay at least one week's car rent, according to the contract, they were not permitted to be delayed but were unloaded in a hurry and sent to Zahony to carry a couple of shipments of Zsigulis. At Kisber they were pumping cement out of a freight car; it got dark and they quit work half way through; but the unloading personnel did not tell anyone so the night handler put the car into a freight train and it made a two week unnecessary trip going to Hegyeshalom, Ferencvaros and Komarom before it got back to Kisber and they could finish unloading.

Car holding time is one of the most important quality indexes of traffic work; cars are supposed to be sent on within 8-10 hours after they arrive. Those delaying can be encouraged to do swifter work by paying fees for holding cars. This can be a considerable punishment--the hourly fee is 24 forints for the first 24 hours, 100 forints on the third day, and even fire wood thrown down in railway areas must be reckoned at 2.50 forints per quintal per day. But why should the station master try to collect the standing fees or storage charges when he does not get any of it? It was proposed that they pay at least 50 fillers for every 100 forints--just as the ticket examiners get a share of supplementary fares collected on the trains--but the answer from above was that they had no place to calculate it.

The railway seems to be economizing but in reality millions are lost each year because often one can "talk" to the station master, change the time of arrival or time of loading, decrease the standing fees and storage charges, and in return the station master gets half a pig from the producer cooperative or a set of tableware, a pair of shoes or an artificial hair piece from the factory.

"And what sort of supervision is there?" I asked one station master.

"They usually tell me in advance when they are coming and we come in; who cares. It makes me happy to see eight of them getting off the train, wandering around in fancy dress, because, you see, it takes eight of them to supervise me, what I do all alone, so I am worth eight people."

"Do they find many mistakes?"

"Those supervisors don't usually go down to the section; they just take out the register and sign it. They don't pry much. It's an old railway rule that an intelligent man asks something only twice during a station inspection; if it is not forthcoming he doesn't ask again."

"With that sort of inspection how can they tell how long a car has been at the station?"

"They can't. Maybe they think CEMA can take it."

Personnel for the Jaszfenyszaru station is set at 17 people. Of these, five posts are empty; three switchers, one duty officer and one loader are missing.

"How is it that fewer people work on the railway everywhere--the locomotive engineer is alone in the cab because the train chief has been taken away and the track guard has been replaced by an iron watchman--and still the shortage of personnel increases?"

"It's because the desks keep multiplying. If a traffic man organizes a recital, as a hobby, why 6 months later he may be promoted to independent cultural organizer at the center. Auxilliary offices used to be filled by an old railway man; now they assign, from above, an army of 18-20 year old girls who, in any case, need a long time to learn the work."

"Do the authorities help?"

"Yes, they sent me a paper. Within 10 days I had to fill up my staff or else...! But the paper didn't say how I was to do it. According to the law of communicating vessels people go where they get paid more."

"A switch handler gets 1,750 forints a month and six times he gets a 30 forint night differential and for this he must not only work but, as the F2 regulations so finely put it, he must ensure the safety of rail transportation with his life."

"And who do we get? We hired a boy as a loader who was so bright that he took off between the electric pole and a moving train instead of going around. When we asked him why he just said: 'I was in a hurry.'"

"But I took him on because this was the only way I could get rid of a drunk who has worked at 25 stations in 20 years. He came to work when he felt like it. When he got paid he bought half a pig's head and some macaroni and drank the rest."

"Couldn't you discipline him?"

"How? If one of my men gets drunk I can't punish him; at most I can get him sobered up. I could sign a report, with two witnesses, and sent it to Pest. They have 3 months to answer and usually send the reprimand in the last week. So naturally the men talk among themselves: 'You see, he barks in vain. The chief doesn't cut it in Pest.'

"A station master has the responsibility but not the power. We recently got a government train coming from Czechoslovakia; they called ahead to Hatvan that the station master should provide a package of coffee because they were out. The station master paid for it out of his own pocket, the train stopped for two seconds and he handed it over. Not only did they not give him the money but they asked why he hadn't inspected the coffee to see if it was poisoned!"

"How much do you make?"

"My salary as station master is 2,300 forints in addition to which I get 70 forints for my grade, and that's it."

"Premiums?"

"The whole quarterly premium allocation for the station is 1,400-2,700 forints and on some solemn occasion, such as the 50th anniversary of the freeing of Nehru, this has to be divided up among 17 people. You can imagine how much I get out of that.

"I cannot compare myself to a producer cooperative chairman who earns 10,000 forints but if I make a mistake I could kill a hundred people while if he fouls up he plants another 100 yokes of pumpkins. I can't even compare myself to the least day laborer. So the peasant's heels are smoking with maneur but he can say he will leave the cooperative if he doesn't earn a Trabant each summer. I, a station master, can't even save up for a motorcycle. We are not respected even here on the railway. A car handler at Fradi earns 2,000 forints more than I do. Even my own traffic manager gets 1,600 forints overtime in a month but a station master is not allowed to earn overtime. I am on duty constantly; the village is four and a half kilometers from here and if I go for a haircut I have to report it and I'm lucky if they don't say I should get a haircut on Sunday. Station masters do not dare to live. The train is stopped? Where is the station master? The train doesn't stop? Where is the station master? A passenger farts? Where is the station master? Let me say this. Of the 830 workers at the Hatvan center 65 requested foreign travel and after 5 years they get preferential treatment even in the United States. The others simply don't get it, they have no strength, desire or time to travel."

"Do the other station masters in the area live like you do?"

"What keeps a station master in place is being able to make a living; he builds a plastic greenhouse, he's half stove in but in 3 years the peppers

and tomatoes will support him and the railway is just for pocket money. But I don't want to stay here forever."

"What is your connection with the village? How do you rank in Jaszfenyszaru?"

"If they get a freight slip from the producer cooperative which isn't stamped the loaders say: 'The station master will not let us open the car.' That's my role and nothing more. They recently asked me to transfer out of the village party organization to the railway one."

It was about noon and the station master would have asked us up to his house for a glass of wine but an official black Volga stopped under the window.

High ranking railway guests were making an official inspection. They did not have much to say; one of them only observed that the pad timbers should be secured with lock and chain so they would not be lost. The station master gulped a bit and patiently and politely explained the difficulties. Such a directive could be issued only if it were introduced simultaneously at all stations, this would cost a lot and the railway would have to pay a sizeable fine for increasing the consumable allocation. The chain and lock would have to be ordered which, considering the present supply situation, would take months. Not even to speak of the fact that if the chain was weak it would break and if it was strong it would be stolen. The passengers of the Volga were not convinced; they left the matter up in the air. When they got back in the car the station master mopped his brow:

"We'll do it somehow; don't shoot."

In the large room of the official house a short man of about 60 was reading by the table, the father of the station master--and his predecessor as the Jaszfenyszaru station master.

"Was it your intention to raise your boy to work for the railway?"

"We didn't have to raise him for it. His first word was 'mama' and his second word was 'train.' When he was 18 I asked the chief to take him into the railway and let me train him. He passed the first exam in 4 weeks."

"Is your son a station master like you were?"

"Different. I was a pencil pusher. If I put a letter down on a typewriter I threw the paper away. It couldn't be corrected. He," he pointed at his son, "is a slave driver."

"A product of our socialist society," the younger station master said with a straight face.

"I take my hat off to him the way he struggles all day. The railway has changed a lot. My idea was, the sun is shining, the sky is blue, nobody

bothers me and I don't bother anybody. I learned my philosophy from my father-in-law, an old railway man: Don't be impatient, the wheels of the railway will keep turning!

"Life has changed a lot. It used to be good to work for the railway, everything was uniform. They used the same oil to keep the dust down in every office, the pay was the same, if some station inspector somewhere got 185 pengo then every station master in the country got the same, not like it is now. And no two days on duty were the same; life flew by so you didn't notice. At night I liked to sit in the office listening to the telegraph clicking: 'FC (that's Ferencvaros) calling the Eastern; the 910 can use the BK (that's the Budapest siding)....' I could see how the trains were approaching us.

"In those days we worked 24 hours on and 24 hours off. When they introduced a 12/24 schedule I felt like I was getting a Sunday for every 12 hours worked....

"There was good pay then but there was discipline too. If you joined the railway you had to sign a statement: 'I recognize that service can be terminated without any excuse being given.' Of course, everybody sought the work.

"If somebody caused an accident it was his ass and if he was a contributing factor he couldn't stay. And if he went to prison he went from virgin to whore; he couldn't go back to his job."

"The situation changed after the liberation?"

"Not right away. They brought out the B list in 1946-1947 and purged the best of the railway. This was not a political thing because the fascists had been taken care of long before. Only two of us old station masters remained in 1948 on the Budapest-Kiskoros-Kalocsa-Kelebia line, Lexi Fodor and me. Then they got rid of Lexi because he was station master at Kenderes, the village of Miklos Horthy."

"You didn't have any trouble yourself?"

Up to this point we had been talking quietly in a relaxed manner around the table but at this question the old station master jumped up and stood before me, his red face went pale and his slightly bulging eyes filled with tears.

"If you please, I would like to say that I was always an honest Hungarian and I will be one as long as I live."

He walked stiffly to the window, his hands clasped behind him, and stared out at the rails, his breath came in hard gasps as if he was crying. I did not understand his outburst but I could not ask about it. I remained silent.

Later, when he accompanied me out to the train, the young station master told me the story. Before the liberation his father had served at Kalocsa and Grosz, the bishop of Kalocsa, used to go to the station to talk to him. When the phony trial was started against Grosz they held it against the old man that he had been friendly with the bishop, as if he could have kicked the bishop of Kalocsa out of the station. He was not fired but they would not let him head a station employing more than eight people.

The old railway man wiped his eyes and begged forgiveness for having forgotten himself and returned to his place.

"The papers were full of it: Get rid of the little kings in the countryside! If somebody was 2-3 hours late and I sent him home he was hardly out the door before the party secretary came in: One cannot talk to workers this way. The quality of service began to decline then because the station masters began to be afraid. They put strangers on our necks. A tailor would come in at eight o'clock and by twelve he was a railway inspector. We were amazed: Only an inspector? One could make chief inspector in that much time!"

"Why didn't they trust the old railway men?"

The old station master shook his head.

"I do not know. If you please, there was no reason for it."

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CSO: 2500

GENERAL MROZ INTERVIEWED ON NEW REGULATIONS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18-19 Jun 77 pp 1-2

[Interview with Maj Gen Wladyslaw Mroz, Chief of the Armed Forces Inspectorate and Chairman of the Regulations Committee of the Ministry of National Defense, by Lt Col Czeslaw Kundicz: "Work on the New Polish Armed Forces Regulations Completed"; date and place not given]

[Text] Our slogan for the summer training period is: "Become familiar this very day with the regulations which will be in effect tomorrow." We are entering the period of learning the content of the regulations. In order to apply their principles consistently in practice it is necessary to become thoroughly acquainted with them.

It is on the subject of these and other problems that ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI talks to Maj Gen Wladyslaw Mroz, Chairman of the Regulations Committee, Ministry of National Defense.

We have been informed that the printing of the new Polish armed forces regulations has been completed. The first edition of the new regulations, those on the service of the interior, disciplinary service, garrison service, guard service, and drill, appeared on 15 June, and the second will appear on 31 July 1977. By this same date printing will be completed on the operative models of documents concerning regulations.

In all military circles we are observing tremendous interest in these standard legal documents which are basic to the military. Hence, we approached Maj Gen Dr Wladyslaw Mroz, Chairman of the Regulations Committee of the Ministry of National Defense, and asked him to grant us an interview, in order that we might present the issues related to the new regulations to our readers.



[Question] General, we would like to inform our readers concerning the differences between the regulations presently in effect and those which will soon be introduced and inculcated into the training of the armies. Would you care to make a statement on this subject, sir?

[Answer] Lt Gen Florian Siwicki, Deputy Minister of National Defense and Chief of General Staff of the Polish Army, directed the work of the regulation commission. The task laid down in the minister of national defense's order of 15 June 1974 was accomplished within the specified time. All the members of the commission tried to carry out their duties as best they could. As for the differences between the regulations currently in effect and the new ones, the changes are so great that it is not possible to discuss them in a single interview. In order to visualize them, let us just say that a description of the changes as written up in one of the reports, which of necessity was also very much condensed, takes up 24 typed pages.

During the 3 years of work, five successive drafts of the updated regulations were prepared. The first three were the initial draft of December 1974, the corrected draft of June 1975, and the verified draft of January 1976. Consultations were held on this subject with the broadest ranks of military society and the subject was discussed throughout the entire armed forces. The final draft, that of December 1976, included corrections proclaimed mainly by General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, Minister of National Defense, by the ministry's military council, and by the collegium of the Central Institutions of the ministry.

The final version, which was approved for use in the military, is the fifth version, the expanded version. Work was completed on it in April 1977.

During the 3 years of work the commission reviewed a total of more than 8,500 suggestions, about 2,850 of which were utilized and introduced into the regulations in the form of changes, additions, and meritorical or editorial corrections. This very great number of proposals is an expression of the great social commitment, activity, and straightforward soldierlike attitude, mainly that of the professional staff, towards matters concerning the creation of the new regulations. Because of this a slogan reflecting the task placed before us, "All soldiers coauthors of the new regulations," became a fact. Hence the regulations underwent fundamental change, and without exaggeration they can be called new. What we call interpretation, which is currently operative with the present regulations, also became superfluous. Although in the old regulations we have only a few models of documents, in the new ones users will find a complete set of documents. As a result of this the new regulations are entirely communicative, which undoubtedly will make it easier not only to utilize them in daily practice but also to prevent any sort of bureaucratization of military life.

[Question] General, would you like to indicate the most characteristic changes which make the new regulations different from the ones presently in effect?

[Answer] First of all, the content and arrangement of the new regulations has been coordinated with the provisions and decisions of the basic legal-standard documents and other military documents presently in effect. They have been enriched and improved, and because of this their content has been adapted to current scientific and technical achievements. The content and arrangement were put in order through the removal of various sorts of imprecision, redundancy, and provisions which progress and everyday life have made outmoded. The issue of identical content was handled in a complex way, thereby making the new regulations more precise and their arrangement clearer.

In other instances the changes in the regulations made it necessary to update certain legal-standard documents. At the present time, for example, work is in progress on revision of "Military Etiquette," because it is a question of making a precise distinction between principles which have the nature of regulations and ceremonial forms. We gave up instruction concerning drill on motor vehicles, as a separate publication, and put the content of it into a new "Drill Regulations" document.

The contents of the new regulations have been saturated with the principles of rational action. They give priority to the style of good work which encompasses the theoretical and practical contribution of the ergologic sciences. To put it briefly, their form and content represent a type of code of rational action.

Among the important differences we should also mention the improvement and updating of regulations and the introduction of completely new ones to fit the current needs of life, the service, and military order and training in the units and the fact that the content of the regulations has been enriched with new stimuli for positive influence and with principles of scientific organization of the work in all service activities. This creates still more convenient conditions for initiative, new ideas, and ingenuity on the part of all soldiers.

[Question] Hence, the Regulations Committee did a tremendous job.

[Answer] This really was a great deal of work, in keeping after all with the importance of these documents. The importance of the four basic regulations for life, service, organization, training, and military preparedness of the armies, after all, can hardly be overestimated.

Hence, at each stage of its work the committee received a great deal of information, proposals, remarks, and recommendations, which represented very valuable material helping us to improve the content and structural arrangement of the modernized regulations. After subtracting the time for recesses, vacations, and the necessary performance of other official tasks, we find that the work on the new regulations and model documents provided for therein took a total of more than 12,000 working days.

Nevertheless, I would not ascribe the results of this work solely to the committee, which I had the honor to head. Minister of National Defense General of the Armies Wojciech Jaruzelski personally took a keen interest in the work of the committee.

We received substantial assistance from the army chief of general staff and from the armed forces leadership staff. Because of this our activity developed properly and rather quickly approached our goal.

The new regulations are also the fruit of the work of the central institutions of the defense ministry, the leaders of the districts and branches of the armed forces, tactical groups and detachments. It should be added that the regulations of the internal service of the Polish armed forces were reviewed by an expanded collegium of the Polish army general staff, headed by Deputy Minister of National Defense Lt General Florian Siwicki. This session was attended by members of the collegium of the Polish army's main quartermaster's office and the institutions under the main technical inspectorate. The disciplinary regulations of the Polish armed forces were reviewed by a collegium of the head of the Polish army's main political administration, expanded to include members of the collegium of the chief prosecutor's office and representatives of the military chamber of the supreme court. The meeting was chaired by Deputy Minister of National Defense Lt General Wlodzimierz Sawczuk. The regulations of the garrison and guard service and the drill regulations of the Polish armed forces were reviewed by a collegium of the main inspectorate of training, expanded to include members of the collegium of institutions under the main inspectorate of territorial defence and the collegium of the leadership of the internal military service. Deputy ministers of national defense Lt General Tadeusz Tuczapski and Lt General Eugeniusz Molczyk attended this meeting. Major General Teodor Kufel was also present.

Many changes and additions were made at the meetings of these collegiums. The drafts of the new regulations thus expanded and changed were later reviewed at a session of the Ministry of National Defense's military council, which met under the leadership of the Minister of National Defense. The council recommended further improvement in certain sections of the regulations and simultaneously contributed many new solutions.

A large number of basic groups of the armed forces and paramilitary organizations and institutions took part in the discussion on the draft of the new regulations and in evaluating it, at our request. Tens of thousands of professional soldiers and soldiers in basic service serving in various posts, from the subunits right up to the central institutions of the ministry took part in this project. Also taking an active part in it were the members of the instruction staff, students of the military institutions of higher education, and certain groups of the police, border patrol, members of the TWWO [Towarzystwo Wiedzy Wojskowo-Obronnej = Society for Military Defense Knowledge], National Defense League, and reservists in the reserve officers circles.

We have been greatly assisted by the lively direct contacts with staff and with soldiers in basic service in the units, where committee members held profound discussions on the drafts of the new regulations with interested parties and listened to comments, collecting proposals concerning the wisdom of these changes and others.

In discussing this very valuable assistance we should also include the many communications meetings between committee members and ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI readers through the means of the publishing office's "green telephones" and the numerous press publications which appeared under the auspices of the central press, military periodicals, and soldiers' district newspapers.

The practical tests of the new regulation solutions set up in certain units of the Pomeranian Military District played an important role. These tests made it possible to check in practice a number of organizational, house-keeping, and model forms of the principles established in the regulations. They became known to the administrative staff of the armed forces and several thousand professional military people and soldiers in basic service. Each person could express his opinion on the subject of the proposed solutions in questionnaires specially prepared for that purpose. Answers were given to about 170 different questions. This contributed substantially to improving the course of military order, service, and life in all the armed forces units and also to improving the equipment and furnishings of military quarters.

I have mentioned only some forms of the participation shared by all military groups in the work done by the defense ministry's regulations committee. These examples show the committee's broadest possible consultation with all people interested in the content of the regulations. The basis of this consultation was profound, socialist democracy, which is appropriate to the nature of the people's Polish Army. Thus, the active participation of many headquarters, institutions, commands, staffs, professional military men, and soldiers in basic service went into the development of the final content of the new regulations. Without this assistance the regulations committee would not have been able to accomplish in proper fashion the task assigned to it.

[Question] General, now we would like to bring up problems of a somewhat more general nature, nonetheless related to the regulations. We came into contact with them in the course of the press campaign conducted in connection with modernizing the regulations. Some correspondents have given us to understand that in their opinion the regulations sometimes make the soldier's life difficult. What are your views on this subject, General?

[Answer] By virtue of their very nature, the life and service of a soldier are not easy. This follows simply from the role and tasks which a soldier is called upon to execute. We are an army of a nation whose progressive, revolutionary aspirations have led our country along the road of socialist

construction, a road along which Poland's power and significance and its state situation, which fits the life of Poles, have most effectively become permanent.

We are living and building our socialist statehood in the situation which was objectively structured by external and internal conditions. The conditions make it unthinkable to accomplish our national purposes without armed forces structured on a scale to fit our needs and capabilities.

Taking things historically, we can see without difficult that each organized activity of groups of people has always been based upon, and always will be based upon, collective principles followed by tradition and custom or established in certain documents of legal standards which represent a special sort of code showing the ways and standards of behavior. Without this the activity of human society could not be effective. The armed forces represent one of the highest forms of organized activity of human groups and must be that way, because otherwise they could not handle the functions which they have been created to fulfill. Without regulations containing a collection of the major provisions setting standards for the life, service, and principles of the training and upbringing of soldiers the effective operation of groups of people gathered together in the military units is impossible.

Naturally, much here also depends upon what the regulations are like, and this always depends on the sorts and types of interests which the army serves, because the content of the regulations is a reflection of the regime of the given country, its social class structure, national traditions, and progress in all social and technical areas. Now our regulations are completely in accordance with the class nature of our army, socialist sociolegal conditions, the level of awareness, economic and technical progress, and functions for which our army has been created.

Everyone who understands the importance of daily soldierly duties and wishes to prove this in a patriotic attitude, conscientiousness, initiative, and constant care and concern for strengthening the defense strength of our socialist country will find the regulations contain great help for constructive participation in this great work. As I have already mentioned, the new regulations are a code of rational action, and this is why every soldier will always find in them an answer to the question of how to act in this or that situation. This applies both to conditions of peaceful training and to a time in which there may arise a need to put oneself to the greatest test of military efficiency. Therefore, there is no question here of making military life more difficult, because it is most difficult for a person to life and work when he does not know how to behave or direct his efforts so that his work may produce the greatest benefits in terms of the public interest, which always includes his own interest as an individual. Altogether the various soldiers who assimilate the content of the regulations and try consistently to act in the spirit of the principles included in them make up the army's whole thinking and effectiveness, and because of this it will be easier for the army to handle the functions for which it was created.

[Question] What advice would you give to our readers who will soon receive the new regulations?

[Answer] I advocate the simplest solutions. I consider them to be the best, because they take the shortest route to the desired goal. This is why I would recommend that the slogan: "All soldiers joint authors of the new regulations" be now transformed into the principle: "All soldiers carefully study the new regulations," so that then the point of honor for all members of military society can become the statement: "All soldiers pedantic executors of the regulation orders."

I should like to emphasize most strongly that even the best drafted regulations cannot serve the function entrusted to them, unless their injunctions and principles are consistently adhered to in daily life. On the other hand, they play their role excellently wherever all soldiers, regardless of rank or position, apply themselves to the rules contained in the regulations and follow them, with all the pedantry which is operative in the army. Their effect on the structure of military order, discipline, organization, and training, on the other hand, will be reduced wherever military action is not adapted completely to the regulations' provisions.

This is why the period of study and especially inculcation of the new regulations is a fundamental element of all the structural-organizational solutions and efforts related to later adherence to the principles of the regulations. This will be a decisive period for the effectiveness of the influence which the new regulations will have on military order, training, discipline, and upbringing. For this reason, regardless of rank or position, each soldier should put out maximum effort to become thoroughly acquainted with the content of the regulations and to perfectly assimilate the principles of behavior contained therein. We must remember here that every regulation, even the best regulation, is dead unless it is applied to its full extent. On the other hand, if it is learned, understood, and consistently followed in daily activity, it becomes an effective force which has an influence on the whole course of the life, service, training, and combat readiness of the armies.

In bringing our interview to a close I should like to say that I am grateful to all the people from whom we have received useful, completely disinterested assistance in our work on the new regulations. It not only was effective but also represented for us a positive incentive in this very difficult and responsible work. The new regulations are the result of very active social commitment on the part of the overwhelming majority of soldiers who are interested heart and soul in the excellence, effectiveness, and high value of defense strength of our socialist country. Hence, I should like through the intermediary of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI to extend my sincerest thanks to all the central institutions of the Ministry of National Defense, the headquarters of the districts and branches of the armed forces, tactical groups and detachments, staff officers of the various echelons, research

and teaching staff, all the publishing offices and journalists of the military and civilian press, including in particular the editorial office of the central Polish Army newspaper, which has been working in cooperation with us from the first days of the formulation of the new regulations. I heartily thank my regulations committee colleagues, who devoted all their talent, knowledge, and energy to preparing and drafting the new regulations, sparing no effort in doing the best possible job to carry out the tasks entrusted to them. I thank most sincerely all those who with great care and commitment cooperated with us in the work on the final structure of the new regulations.

[Question] We on the other hand thank you, General, for the interesting interview.

10790

CSO: 2600

POLAND

DUTCH SUPPORT FOR POLISH DISSIDENTS

Rotterdam NRD HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 24 Jun 77 p 7

[Text] Eight prominent Dutchmen sent a declaration of support to the Polish professor Edward Lipinski, the most important spokesman of the Polish Workers Defense Committee (KOR), which has of late been subjected to increased pressure from the Polish Government.

This letter was sent because as of tomorrow a year has gone by since revolts broke out among workers in several Polish cities after the government had suddenly drastically increased food prices. During these disturbances -- known as the riots of Radom and Ursus -- rails were broken up and a party building was set ablaze. The government reacted with mass firings, arrests, and mistreatment of workers. Because Polish labor unions and other social organizations refused to help persecuted workers and their families, the defense committee was founded in September.

It may be true that the Polish Government has released most of the arrested workers (except five of them), and rehired most of them, but last month nine members and sympathisers of the committee were arrested. Until now they have neither been released nor officially accused.

The eight Dutchmen -- Wim Kok of the FNV [Federation of Dutch Labor Unions], Lanser of the NVV [Netherlands Labor League], author Simon Carmiggelt, and the journalist Nico Scheepmaker are among them -- wrote in their letter that the workers' right to organize and strike is part of the universally accepted human rights, as such recognized by the constitution of the Polish Peoples' Republic. The letter notes that the arrests of KOR members and sympathisers can therefore not be interpreted as directed against a small group of individuals but against the ideas they represent.

Our Warsaw correspondent asked professor Lipinski for his commentary on the letter. Lipinski began with the qualification that he was speaking in his own behalf, even though he is a committee member. He says that the KOR is not an organization but a group of people with more or less the same opinion.



This letter from a number of prominent Dutchmen provides important support to the Polish democratic movement in its struggle. The contents should be made known among the people. Freedom of speech and writing is according to Lupinski, the ABC of the socialist conscience.

He says: "I am a Marxist. I consider freedom a necessary condition for the development of a socialist society. Without freedom there is no real development, neither in an economic, nor in a moral sense. It is the freedom of ideas Marx had in mind. It follows Polish traditions. We consider Poland a western nation with a western liberal tradition. An economy without freedom means bureaucracy and inflexibility. Political pluralism is a condition for the development of a socialist economy. Without pluralism the forces of the entire nation could not fully develop. The present system in Poland runs counter to Polish tradition.

Lupinski, a man of advanced age, admits that the KOR is playing a risky game. However, risks are unavoidable.

10,319  
CSO: 3105

## ROMANIA

### CENSUS RESULTS SHOW EQUALITY OF ALL CITIZENS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Jun 77 p 2

[Article by I. Sihleanu: "The 21,559,416 Sons of One Nation: Socialist Romania"]

[Text] Romania's social picture for 1977, sketched by the preliminary results of the census, also shows the structure of the country's population by nationalities. The data in this chapter, correlated with that of other chapters in the release, emphatically proves the validity of the Romanian Communist Party's policy toward the nationality problem, a policy whose essential features are known to be the complete equality of rights for all citizens of the country without distinction of nationality, and the creation of conditions under which they can fully participate in social life and in the active management of society.

The evolution of nationalities in our country, illustrated by the census data, clearly indicates the complete freedom which the citizens of our country enjoy in showing their national membership. In the census, our country's citizens of various nationalities declared their national affiliation according to their convictions and choice.

The following figures are noteworthy: of the 21,559,416 citizens which compose the country's population, 19,001,721 (representing 88.137 percent) are of Romanian nationality, and 2,557,695 (representing 11.863 percent) belong to different nationalities. These figures are self-explanatory about the character of our nation as a unified national state. Maintaining its unity and distinct individuality despite all historical vicissitudes, the Romanian nation has remained unmoved in its ancestral home, and has maintained and affirmed ever more strongly its national being, enriching the heritage of universal civilization with material and cultural values which have earned it a dignified place among the nations of the world.

For centuries, together with Romanians, our country's soil was settled by Hungarians, Germans, and to a lesser extent other nationalities with which the Romanian people have established good relations of joint lives and good collaboration; economically, the result has been the progress of the common nation, and socially, the union of forces in the struggle against oppression and for social and national justice.

These are the facts on which the RCP has based its nationality policy; since the liberation, it has thus eliminated forever the oppression of nationalities which was practiced in the past by the exploiting classes, and has achieved a true equality of rights among all citizens of the country, independently of nationality or race.

The fair, Marxist-Leninist solution of the nationality problem is a fundamental aspect of our society. Anyone can observe "de facto" that in Romania all workers, independently of their nationality, enjoy all common rights: the right to work and to be remunerated according to the quality and quantity of their work, the right to rest and to material security in illness and old age, the right to education, and the right to study in their mother tongue and use this language in their relations with state agencies and institutions located in administrative-territorial units inhabited by other populations in addition to Romanians.

The equality of rights is eloquently expressed by a corresponding representation of workers of other nationalities in all spheres of decision and management of the society, all along the hierarchic ladder. It is for instance notable that of the 349 members of the Grand National Assembly, 40 (or 11.5 percent) are representatives of cohabiting nationalities; and that in local state agencies, the cohabiting nationalities are holding more than 10 percent of the number of members. Over 11 percent of the staff which works in the party agencies and apparatus, in mass and civic organizations, and in the press, comes from among the cohabiting nationalities. It can therefore be seen that this is a proportional representation, fully corresponding to the real social situation described by the census data.

The equality of rights of all workers, independently of nationality, is also fully attested in the essential, decisive area of social life -- material production. All that which the country has, the resources of its land and of its subsoil, and all that which has been built and is being built in our times with our industrious hands and our ingenious creativity, belongs in equal measure to all of the country's sons, which are all alike producers and owners of the means of production, and masters of the entire social wealth. Workers, engineers, technicians, artists, scientists, directors of enterprises or institutions, political, civic, or cultural activists, all citizens of the country, are judged not by their nationality, but solely according to their capabilities and their contribution to the joint effort for fructifying the common nation -- Socialist Romania.

Of particular significance to the practical achievement of equal rights for all workers is the consistent policy of the RCP -- of evenly distributing the production force over the country's territory. This consolidates the economic and material basis of equality, and creates the conditions necessary for each and every worker to enjoy the fruits of the building of socialism. As indicated by the results of the census, it is important that between 1966 and 1976 large population growths (above the 12.9 percent average of the economy as a whole) were recorded in those counties in which workers of other nationalities cohabited with Romanian workers: 15.5 percent for Harghita, 15.2 percent for Maramures, and 16.1 percent for Sibiu. In addition, similar regions of the country -- Salaj, Hargita, Maramures -- have during the last decade, experienced a more rapid urbanization. All of these factors directly reflect a growth in civilization, and the improved living conditions of all inhabitants.

Those things which are valid in the economic and social spheres, are also validated in the cultural life. Speaking for the flowering of the cultural and artistic life of the cohabiting nationalities, is the fact that 14 theaters and musical institutions, more than 2500 amateur artistic formations, and 49 newspapers and magazines are operating in the languages of these nationalities, and that during the 1966-1976 period 3640 book titles (amounting to nearly 23 million copies) were published in the same languages. Every week, radio and TV programs devote tens of hours of broadcasting in the languages of the principal cohabiting nationalities. During the national festival "Romania Sings," tens of thousands amateur artists of other nationalities appeared on the stages of cultural clubs and houses of culture together with Romanian artists, many of them being among the winners -- from the preliminary level up to the national competition. This first festival was a new step toward the formation of a joint cultural heritage which enriches all the citizens of the country.

Particularly significant for the new living conditions enjoyed by all workers in our country, independently of their nationality, is that they have contributed to the general growth of the population, recorded in the census data. It is this full equality of rights, the superior level of well-being and civilization, and the conviction of workers, independently of their nationality, that this is their common country, their land, in which they and their descendants can develop and fulfill themselves, can be sure of being socially integrated, which generates a sentiment of trust and security for the future, which is the foundation for raising a strong, large family, and which stimulates the birth rate.

Of course, the awareness of being sons of a common nation, indissolubly united in a large and single family, also implies that the citizens have the essential obligation to participate more strongly in the socioeconomic development effort of the country, for raising it among the advanced countries of the world. This key requirement of the present stage makes a total demand

on the physical and mental strength of all the country's citizens, there being no greater satisfaction for any worker, independently of his nationality, than to consecrate all his working strength and creativity on the fulfillment of the party's policy, and on the progress and prosperity of the common nation -- Socialist Romania.

11,023

CSO: 2700

## YUGOSLAVIA

### OFFICIALS TRIED FOR KEEPING INFORMATION FROM JOURNALISTS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 77 p 6

[Article by Zvonko Gajski]

[Text] During the past week, the quarters of the sociopolitical organizations in Celje were the scene of an unusual happening. Three officials from the township of Zalec found themselves on the accused's bench of the Honor Court of the Journalists' Association of FR Slovenia. They were accused of denying information to journalists of the Slovenian journals DNEVNIK, DELAVSKA ENOTNOST and VECER, thus preventing them from informing the public in an objective manner.

This case, without precedent, will surely enter into the annals of the development of journalism, since this is the first time that the source of information found itself on the accused's bench facing those who disseminate the information to the widest possible public, i.e. the journalists. Thus, an entire series of questions has been posed in a new manner, and the accomplishing of tasks posed by the Constitution and Congressional Resolution and the realization of new self-managing relations before the magistrates will depend on the manner in which these questions are answered.

Furthermore, these questions are not unimportant, nor are they, as has been demonstrated by the unravelling of events in Celje, easy to answer. Let us mention just a few of the most important ones: Is the journalist, as a sociopolitical worker, an equal partner in the dialogue with the economic, social and political officers? Are there tabu themes that cannot (may not) be written about, and what are they? How can one obtain up-to-date information if another can withdraw behind a closed door? Is one entitled to have one's "own" journalists, i.e. to choose those who will inform the public? What is objective reporting, and what is a race for sensationalism? And so we come to the complex questions concerning the interrelationship between the sources of information and the disseminators of such information.

#### Right to Information

The trial in Celje, which might be better termed an open dialog in which, besides the prosecutor and the accused, about 15 Slovene journalists

participated, could not, nor did it pretend to, answer all these questions. It did, however, clearly indicate the starting point for seeking the answers, which is the working man's right to be informed in a timely and objective manner of everything that is important to his everyday work and activities. Everything that happens within the triangle--source of information, journalist, public information--must be subordinated to this basic task.

This is because, as was pointed out at that time, information is a social force, and to cut off information is to cut off the way to self-management. The messages of these conclusions are completely clear and unequivocal and (like the entire Celje dialog) make one think about the role played by the journalist in society as a whole, as well as about the obligations of those who, by virtue of their office, have at their disposal certain information.

#### A Dialog of Equals

Because of these thoughts, it is difficult not to take notice of a casual remark by the president of the Zagreb City Council of LCC [League of Communists of Croatia], Dragutin Plasc, concerning the fact that the teeth of Zagreb's journalists have grown dull. We do not think that Plasc meant that journalists should bite everyone and everything indiscriminately. It was a warning that the journalist is a sociopolitical worker (this was insisted upon in Celje as well), whose duty is to actively participate on the sociopolitical stage as an equal interlocutor, with proposals of his own, as a supporter, but, if necessary, as an opponent of what is happening on the stage.

What follows is a Sisyphean task of determining whether the lack of journalists' involvement, mentioned by Plasc (and which is not infrequently brought up to them) evolved from the (too) little respect that the journalist's work commands in the society or whether the journalists have contributed to the devaluation of their work (and respect) by their refusal to become involved and inability to shoulder their fair share of work. Regardless of the outcome of the dilemma, one thing is certain: The ones to suffer are persons who have nothing to do with all this. They are those who expect from the journalists objective information, evaluations of things and events and action as intermediaries along the complex road of implementing self-managing relations.

#### Journalists and Officials

This means that it is in everyone's interest to have capable, fast-working, involved journalists, and, in this endeavor, the relationship between the sources of information and the journalist profession cannot and must not be neglected. Although we by no means neglect the contacts which the journalist is obligated to maintain with the broadest possible public, and whence the seeking of information truly begins, nonetheless, this relationship is most frequently reduced to the journalists vs. the official, since this is the relationship which, in the greatest number of cases, secures return information to questions which have come out of the base and to which the journalist is seeking answers.

And, in fact, it is most frequently in this type of relationship that misunderstandings or, to put it more precisely, refusals to give information occur. As a result, it is impossible to inform the public in a timely and objective fashion, and the public finds the question of whether this was caused by the fact that the official in question had not time, did not like that particular journalist or something else entirely, absolutely uninteresting. At this point, we do not wish to enter the question of whether the refusal to give information could cover up various manipulations, poor business practices or even illegal and antisocial activity.

#### A Measure of Work and Income

What has been said above leads to the question of whether timely information is merely a question of good relations between the source, that is to say, a particular official, and the journalist or whether this is a necessary obligation of all those who possess information of a certain value. This leads us to a very interesting question, which is only at first glance unrelated to the theme under discussion, namely, the question of evaluating the work of sociopolitical workers in our self-managing system, which decidedly demands that remuneration be based on work results.

It would seem that the only possible answer to this question is a complete public disclosure of the work being done and a readiness to justify individual actions and performances at any time. In other words (to quote Dragutin Plasc once again) the official's duty is to keep the public posted concerning his work, and it follows from this that it is the journalist's right to seek from the official, in the name of the public, answers to questions that are interesting to the working people. If the opposite were true, the outcome would be that it is possible to evaluate the work of a sociopolitical worker only after his mandate has expired.

#### Why the Lack of Objectivity?

However, in order to avoid being one-sided, we find it necessary to say something about the journalist's person. This question deserves an answer, all the more because the officials from Zalec have stressed, as an argument in their defense, the one-sidedness and lack of objectivity in reporting which (for the most part) led the officials into not giving the journalists the sought after information. At this point, it would be pretentious to claim that there is no one-sidedness and lack of objectivity in newspaper writing, but it is appropriate to clearly state whence they originate.

At this point one should remember the words of Comrade Tito during an interview which he granted on 1 February 1977 to VJESNIK newspaperwoman Dara Janekovic. Tito said the following: "The journalist must be able to judge accurately, but this he cannot do if he does not know, if he has no experience." Tito also said the following: "Up until now, we have not had enough contact with journalists, and it is necessary to talk together more often..." It is not difficult to draw a conclusion from these words, and, even though not everybody will agree with the saying that "the politicians have the kind of



journalists they deserve," the fact remains that the journalist cannot write objectively if he does not know, if when he is seeking his information he runs into closed doors. Of course, we do not intend to dispute the possibility of malicious journalism and a tendency toward sensationalism, but these rare exceptions (which are easily spotted) cannot invalidate the principle.

#### An Open Discussion

In conclusion, it is necessary to say that we do not feel that we have touched on all the possible questions, nor have we completely answered those that we have posed. Our goal was to contribute to the open dialogue about the role and meaning of public information, which in the new self-managing relations assumes a role which is as new and responsible as it is complex.

The Celje precedent should become a rule in this dialogue, because it is only through constant communication and discussion between all the participants in the business of information that the duties placed before the journalists and the public information media can be fulfilled. These are duties which clearly originate from Tito's words during the above mentioned interview: "It is impossible to imagine a correct and efficient functioning of the delegate system or the development and strengthening of self-management without strong and efficient information media... The information media must be a mighty support in the struggle for the strengthening and development of self-management, a mighty support in the spreading and nurturing of the ethics of the new self-managing society that we are building, a mighty support in the spreading and strengthening of patriotism, in the nurturing of our revolutionary tradition, etc., etc."

9110

CSO: 2800

## YUGOSLAVIA

### CATHOLIC PAPER RESPONDS TO LCY COMMENTS ON RELIGION

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian No 12, 19 Jun 77 p 3

[Article by Zivko Kustic: "You Will Know Them by Their Fruit" (St. Matthew 7: 16)]

[Text] "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia in relation to Church and religion and the activity of religious communities in our socialist, self-managing society" was the subject of the 2-day symposium organized in Zagreb by the Chairmanship Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) for ideological and theoretical work in the LCY and ideological questions in education, science and culture. The symposium began Monday, 6 June of this year. Reports published so far justify the interest of religious citizens in this symposium, and in fact confirm the impression about some positive developments in the theory and practice of our Marxists with respect to Church and religion. Since we do not yet have the complete documentation at our disposal, we rely on the writings about this symposium in Zagreb's VJESNIK of 7 and 8 June.

### May Religiousness Constitute an Element of a Citizen's Political Evaluation?

Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Chairmanship of the LCY Central Committee, Todo Kurtovic, as well as other responsible party and state functionaries, emphasized that all our citizens, religious or not, have the same rights, duties and obligations. This is the basic position which is constantly repeated and which should give us encouragement. Kurtovic's attempt to convince the attending responsible communists that religion in our country is visibly dying should neither confuse nor annoy us. This is spoken by a communist for communists who still maintain that it is their duty as communists to speak in favor of what they call "dying of religion." It is even their right to wish so and to intervene in a lawful and peaceful manner, so long as their own inner ideological development does not lead them to new and contemporary understanding. It is important that in theory as in practice they refrain completely from any use of power for forcible suppression of religion. They must truly not discriminate against any religious citizens because of their belief. It is understandable that, as politicians

who lead social and political development of this state, they distinguish people on the basis of political criteria. They say so clearly. We maintain, however, that it is time no longer to examine separately the moral-political fitness of a citizen because of his religion or atheism. If definite sociopolitical criteria indeed exist, then in employment or investigation of fitness for a public position it should not be asked at all whether someone is an adherent of a religion. He should not be asked this question, nor should an investigation be conducted about him without his knowledge. Instead, objective sociopolitical criteria should be spoken of exclusively and directly. It seems that our communists wish to go in this direction, but they are clearly not yet unanimous either in theory or in practice. For this reason, both for them and for all of us this symposium in Zagreb was necessary and important.

#### Unagreed--Upon Answer to the Question About Religious Teachers

In this respect it is very unpleasantly significant that the participants of the symposium were unable to arrive at a unanimous answer to the question: "Can a religious teacher teach in school?" So long as our communists do not solve this in principle and in practice, it will be necessary to keep emphasizing what was written in VJESNIK of 8 June, namely, "the so-called 'second-class citizens' can only be people confronted with the interests of our society as a whole--not adherents of religion." So long as it is maintained that a religious citizen is not fit for service in education because he is religious, it would be difficult to assert that he is not at all a "second-class citizen." For then, after all, one should equally inquire about the position of a religious student in such schools. What would religious freedom mean for the religious student if through the years he is obligated to tolerate atheistic indoctrination, which is imposed upon him in the name of science and in the name of the development of our society? We maintain that it is necessary to think and talk about these questions until a conclusion is reached, lest we constantly give opportunity to those forces which endeavor to use certain undecided matters in our society as cause and occasion for political manipulation of adherents of religion not only in our country but also in the much broader, international sphere. Briefly: we hold that the time has come to say clearly that "scientifically" is not the same as "atheistically." If our Marxists equate or link too closely these two concepts, the rest of us in this society do not have to do so: and it is clear that the school is not an institution for the education of young communists only, but of all our young citizens. As churches have special schools for the education of their officiants, so also the LCY can have its own schools for the education of the professional party corps. In seminaries, there is no room for atheists, either for students or for professors; in party schools, likewise, there is no room for adherents of religion (at least while the statute of the LCY retains the present requirement of obligatory atheism); but in all other schools, neither atheism nor theism should be imposed. Here we are not advocating the so-called ideologically neutral school; we do not deny that the ruling party, according to its criteria, wishes to permeate the school system with its ideology (rather, its idea-ology), that is, with Marxism. This is possible, however, only if by Marxism we understand specific ideological and social direction, which must by no means (and this must be said explicitly!) include atheism as its integral part. Nor is it acceptable

that students and teachers who accept and promote atheistic Marxism, both explicitly and obligatorily, will in any way be regarded and pronounced more valuable and more reliable citizens than others.

#### Church and Religious citizens in Relation to Class Struggle

We wanted to emphasize this clearly and openly, so that we may further stress all the positive elements discernible from the mentioned reports on the Zagreb party symposium. The report says that "the sociopolitical relationship with Church and religion must primarily originate from an evaluation of its role in the class struggle." Also that "especially important is the question of giving support to the positive trends which develop in all religious communities." Creators of such formulations make one think that they wish to find ways to have adherents of religion in this society accept the principles of class struggle and, in general, the basic Marxist tenet of the historical development of confrontation between social and production forces. As if we were encouraging the creation of some "Christians for socialism" or even "Christians for Marxism," who here naturally would not be separate political groups but would be included in the work of the Socialist federation. One acquires such an impression, and we do not wish to maintain or try to prove anything else in this respect. This is, however, a directly political question and only indirectly a church question, which should be discussed separately.

If the point is that religious communities in our country may not and cannot be the bulwark of political forces which long for the restoration of former regimes and structures, this is very clear and understandable. It is to the advantage of the Church, above all, actively to resist any such aspiration. The Church indeed does so clearly and unambiguously. This means that it consciously resists the possibility of becoming the tool of class struggle against the present social structure. It is another question whether Christians can accept the principle of class struggle. Without broaching the theoretical divergences of contemporary Catholic thought in the world, we dare say that a Christian can understand class struggle, but cannot accept class or any other hatred. Considered from a somewhat simplified viewpoint, class struggle is merely the struggle of interests of opposing groups, a struggle between the exploited and the exploiters. And it is clear to everyone that historical events based on human nature are moved by such interest struggles. Men of old knew of tribes, religions, races and nations as groups with opposing interests. The Marxists see that basically opposed groups become social classes, and all the rest is a more or less conditioned or arranged camouflage of this basic division and this basic struggle. But if the adherent of religion sees this in this manner, nothing in his religion prevents him from naming matters as Marxists name them and becoming involved --in fact encouraged by the Gospel--on the side of those who are actually fighting for more justice and greater freedom. It is another matter that his religion will never direct him to apply immoral violence in this struggle. We live, however, in a period in which even communists are reexamining the principles and practice of the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

## Positively and Socially Useful Depoliticization of the Church

We are mentioning all this so that it will become clear how "the support of positive trends which develop in religious communities" can be a two-edged sword. If it is a matter of supporting the efforts to free Church and religion of all political manipulation, it should be hailed. If, on the other hand, it is a matter of supporting and stimulating the recent endeavors to politicize the Church in the yoke of communist parties, then it is necessary to give it serious thought. The Church cannot even accept such politicization. We can talk only of endeavors to politicize religious citizens in this sense --by no means the Church as a community. For, through history, the Church has indeed had enough of such yokes; it does not wish to (and may not!) impose upon its believers, in the name of the Gospel, any definite political or economic program. The Second Vatican Council said so clearly in one of its most ill-fated decisions. The Church does not wish to be the political guardian of its members but rather, confidently allows them to adopt their own independent political attitudes, according to their conscience as citizen and believer. The Church, therefore, wants a society which will not take advantage of it politically and seek its political collaboration. Only in such a society could it more and more perfectly realize the fullness of its mission. Thus, free and not manipulated politically, it would be both the sign, the expression and the support of the stability and progressiveness of such a society.

## Evangelical Criterion of Practice

We are aware that even a speech opened this way can be politically abused, precisely because it cannot please anyone of those who at any cost wish to use the Church politically. Some will object that in an unfavorable moment we are sharpening the questions, and others will say that we are betraying them opportunistically, for we should speak more definitely about the real abuses, about the practice which is materially and persistently opposed to the proclaimed programs, about the students who know that it is best to keep secret or at least to disguise one's religion, about the teachers who still go to church where people do not know them, about some state and party functionaries who, although with responsibilities on lower levels, in some of our regions have in fact been conducting a campaign against church funerals and saying publicly that priests should be allowed to conduct a maximum of 10 percent of the total number of funerals, about some school textbooks which are incorrigibly unscientific, unobjective and tendentious....We have, however, written about all this on several occasions, and all this is well known to all. Every reader, even without our cautioning him, is disposed in advance to compare words and deeds. After all, also here applies the Marxist criterion of practice, that is Jesus' criterion: "You will know them by their fruit."

12101

CSO: 2800

PREPARATIONS FOR SUPPLYING ARMED FORCES IN COASTAL ZONE

Belgrade MORNARICKI GLASNIK in Serbo-Croatian No 2, Mar-Apr 77 pp 211-232

[Article by Battleship Captain Petar Zonja]

[Text] One of the most complex and crucial tasks in nationwide defense is fulfilling physical and other needs so that war can be waged. In the long run this is actually the obligation of all entities in society, and it requires detailed and professionally competent work and planning to ensure that the objective needs of national defense are reconciled with realistic economic and other capabilities. Defense preparations should therefore be looked upon and carried out in the context of sociopolitical, business-economic, educational and other activities of society and of the country as a whole, since only the joint planning of their development represents a guarantee that the system of nationwide defense will be continuously strengthened.

Land area and water area (one's own, those of an ally, neutral and captured), near and far, with their human, physical and other resources, have always represented the base from which the needs of belligerents for supplies and equipment, medical care, transportation and other resources were met to a greater or lesser degree. The importance of a particular land area or water area as a source for rear support of armed forces has been enhanced more and more by modernization of the armed forces and of their armament and equipment and by development of the arts of war and the level of training of units for conducting actions on any terrain and in any weather. The extent of preparations (advance arrangement) of a land area or water area in order to create favorable conditions for one's own armed forces and the population in general depended on the potential aggressor, on the goals and character of the war, on the size of the area, and then on the sociopolitical system and the physical development of the economy, and also on the international position, available physical reserves (capacity) and other capabilities for waging war.

## Principal Characteristics of Our Coastal Zone From the Standpoint of Military Geography

Our coastal zone (the continental coastal zone, the islands and the coastal sea), in other words, the Adriatic Naval Theater, has great importance in the defense of our country. The significance of this part of our land area and water area, in the context of Yugoslavia's geostrategic position in Southeastern Europe and on the Mediterranean, is also manifested in the fact that the shortest sea-land and air routes to our country's interior and beyond to central Europe run from the Mediterranean across this area of ours, and the same applies in the opposite direction. The coast and the Adriatic Sea are our natural routes to and from the Mediterranean; they make it possible to maintain maritime relations with allied and neutral countries, and this could have particular importance in certain wartime situations.

This area's coastal location, with all its demographic, political, cultural, economic, transportation, geographic and hydrographic, and other peculiarities, represents its essential characteristics. Our coastal zone, that is, the Adriatic Naval Theater, is our most specific theater, since it has all three natural domains in which military action will be carried out in a possible war and in which nationwide resistance will be offered to an aggressor. It is also our most open theater, since the Adriatic Sea does not represent an obstacle, but indeed the shortest route for the aggressor's naval forces in approaching our coast. From the standpoint of military geography, hydrography and meteorology, the features of the Adriatic Naval Theater in general, and especially of our territorial waters and coast, have a direct impact on the organization, preparation and conduct of combat operations. If units of the armed forces are to be properly developed and used, it is very important that these influences be known and properly used.

When we examine our coastal zone, the following basic characteristics stand out:

- i. Its relatively great length and the shallow depth of its land portion. It is separated from its deep hinterland by the following mountain massifs: Cicarija, Risnjak, Velika Kapela, Velebit, the Dinarids, Biokovo, Bjelasnica, Orjen, Lovcen and Rumija. In many sections of the coast the mountain obstacles rise almost directly from the sea, so that they hinder or prevent development of the maritime industry or other economic activity. Its great length and shallow depth are adverse geostrategic features, since they offer a possible aggressor an opportunity to choose the direction of his strike in this elongated area, that is, to achieve superiority with superior forces in a particular limited space and time. An elongated zone, however, is an advantage should a transverse coastal front be formed, since then the depth is great, which offers an opportunity to organize deep defense on the coastal flank of the front.

ii. Our coast on the Adriatic is highly indented, and there are quite a few inhabited and uninhabited islands and isles. All of these islands, with the forces and materiel on them, can protect the seaward approaches to the continental portion of the coastal zone and represent a natural (physical) obstacle should an aggressor make an attempt to reach our coast and coastal sea or the operational-tactical routes which lead to the interior of the central portion of our national territory, and in that sense they constitute an integral part of it. By the same token, the relief and composition of our coast offer favorable conditions for preparation from the standpoint of hydrography, fortifications, observation and navigation. It affords a good selection and facilitates good preparation of suitable and naturally strong positions for deployment and concealment of weapons, technical installations, and other facilities.

iii. The karstic features of the mainland coast and the islands, which are distinguished by the presence of swallow holes, rifts, pits, caves, dolinas, uvalas and karst poljes. Much of the terrain has only sparse vegetation, and is mainly covered with maquis, consisting predominantly of evergreen species, which in certain places is difficult to move through. Military actions conducted on this type of terrain differ from others, since the cross country movement of motor vehicles is very limited, and the movement of personnel is impeded. As a consequence water must usually be advanced to forces in these areas, and frequently it must be brought from great distances.

iv. The limited nature of communications, especially the low level of linkage with the depth of our national territory. The high karstic hinterland is unfavorable for construction of communications, and the most favorable connections with the hinterland run along the river valleys and through the passes and saddles in massifs. Whereas transversal routes are rare and hard to travel, the situation is somewhat more favorable with coastwise routes. The most important of them is the Adriatic Highway, which runs along the entire coast and thus links together our entire coastal area.

v. The development of the coast and the relative backwardness of the high hinterland and island portions of our coastal zone. All the sizable centers of population, administration, culture and education, and economy and industry are located on the coast of the mainland, while its high hinterland and island portion are relatively sparsely populated and economically underdeveloped.

#### Basic Postulates of a Conception of Nationwide Defense Which Have a Bearing on Preparation of the Land Area and Water Area for Rear Support

The conception of nationwide defense, which is the social-class and political view of our society on the system of preparations and manner of defense of our self-managed socialist community, represents a commitment as to the basic elements and directions of the overall resolution of the problems of the preparations and commitment of our society's total potential to defense



against a possible aggression; this is a commitment not only in the military field, but also in the sociopolitical and economic domains. That is why the basic positions taken in the conception also have a profound impact on establishment of the principles governing the construction and functioning of the system and organization for rear support of the armed forces and other structures in nationwide defense and for supplying the population, in the country at large, and thereby in the land area and water area of our coastal zone as well.

In preparation for nationwide defense we rely primarily on our own resources and physical, technical and other capabilities. This is the point of departure in the organization of nationwide defense so that all human, physical and moral forces of society are organized in good time and in the most effective way so as to successfully conduct a nationwide defensive war.

The positions contained in the conception concerning provision for physical and other needs in the waging of a nationwide defensive war have been fully embodied in the plans for socioeconomic development of all structures and at all levels of nationwide defense. This has strengthened the interdependence between the economic and defense systems; their development as a whole and in individual elements has been coordinated. Relying on their own resources and on the capabilities of our society, sociopolitical communities and organizations of associated labor in the economy, including corresponding organizations and private producers in agriculture and other activities, continue to operate and to work even under wartime conditions on the basis of war plans governing production and other activities, and they produce and perform those activities which are of primary interest to nationwide defense. That is why the quality of the preparations made in peacetime and the degree to which they suit the needs of nationwide defense have paramount importance. This is all the more important because our capabilities for production and the rendering of services under wartime conditions will be reduced, while the needs for effective waging of war will be greater and greater.

The conception of nationwide defense, which is based on the principle of socializing the affairs of national defense, creates optimum possibilities for waging a lengthy and exhausting war. It affords optimum opportunities for activation and use of all the resources and potential of society to meet the needs of a nationwide defensive war. Nationwide defense is a fitting expression of our social system and one of the essential functions of our self-managed society, which is why defense of the country is not only an obligation, but indeed the right of every workingman and citizen in our country. The conception of nationwide defense is actually an original solution devised by our self-managed society, one that is based on a scientific view of war and defense of the country, and it also represents a possibility for successfully resisting aggression. It is at the same time a creative application of the views adopted and it is exploring for new and better solutions in the overall involvement of society in strengthening all elements which augment its political, military, economic and moral strength.

## Impact of the General Characteristics of Contemporary Warfare on Rear Support

Any possible war would be all-inclusive in terms of space, weapons and human involvement, which means that there would be a manifold increase of needs for a diverse assortment of materiel. In this connection we should bear in mind that under wartime conditions there will be fewer people employed in production, and production and other capacities will be exposed to diverse attacks by the aggressor.

The range of contemporary weapons (especially aircraft, missiles and artillery guns) and their destructive power and accuracy make it possible to strike and destroy objectives of vital importance from great distances and indeed over the entire territory of the belligerents. Actions along land and sea lines of communication, destruction of vital objectives along them and destruction of means of transportation will create great difficulties. All of this will have an adverse effect on the capability for production and supply, which means that appropriate measures of defense and protection will always be required, that is, there will have to be an organization capable of mitigating and repairing the consequences of such actions in the shortest possible time.

Any possible war will be characterized by the use of all branches of the armed forces so as to rapidly achieve the aims of the aggression. If such an aggressor is to be effectively opposed, one needs not only the appropriate fighting forces, but rear support also must be organized so that its functioning is never jeopardized at any moment. Moreover, this necessitates advance preparation of secure sources for rear support of the armed forces and other structures of nationwide defense, up-to-date technical supply and superb training of personnel in the rear structures of the armed forces, as well as in sociopolitical communities and organizations of associated labor, so that they can rapidly adapt to specific situations and to the opportunities that exist for effective operation even under the most difficult wartime conditions.

The existence and continuing development of nuclear, chemical, biological and other present-day weapons makes it imperative that they be taken into account regardless of whether they will be used in a particular wartime situation. It is also imperative that all decisionmakers in society who are concerned with the production and storage of material reserves, with the supply of materiel and with the performance of other activities commit themselves to the preparation and training of personnel for work and operation even under such conditions.

Among other things, an aggressor will carry on intensive psychological propaganda and subversive activity aimed above all at creating panic, disorganization, demoralization and intimidation, and also at creating a fifth column, at infiltrating agents, saboteurs and other substantial personnel and materiel for special warfare, for which the elements of rear support

will represent very attractive targets. This will make it a necessity that measures always be taken for combat support, security and self-protection at all levels and in all structures of nationwide defense, within range of the front and throughout the entire depth of national territory.

Wartime-combat conditions will be difficult and exhausting, so that it will be necessary to take radical measures to preserve the psychophysical and fighting abilities of personnel. In such a situation, it is especially important to provide the means of life and the means of waging war. In addition to combat needs, competent medical care, food and clothing and footwear become even more important. The most suitable ways and means of production-- industrial and workshop or cottage industry--should be used in wartime to furnish these and other materials.

#### The Basic Elements and Principles of the System of Rear Support Under Wartime Conditions

The system of rear support of the armed forces and other structures of nationwide defense is an essential component in our country's defense system. The principal features of the system of rear support of the armed forces is manifested in the status and tasks of sociopolitical communities, organizations of associated labor and other structures, which are becoming the entities responsible for rear support in wartime. It is on these foundations that the corresponding organization of administrative and executive agencies for rear support in the armed forces is defined and established.

Rear support is the organized and coordinated group of activities, measures and procedures whereby the most favorable physical and other conditions are achieved for the conduct of combat action and for the life and work of units. It is manifested in the functions of supply, maintenance and repair, the transportation and transport, medical and veterinary service, and the organization of food service and other services, construction, financing and firefighting. Rear support actually represents the connecting link between economic capabilities and operational requirements with a view to achieving and maintaining continuous combat readiness and effectiveness of the forces committed. As a consequence, it must be altogether in line with the makeup and size of units and with the plans for use of the units which it is supporting in combat. The specific features of the land area and water area of our coastal zone, and then the organizational structure and military makeup of units (their diversity, their separation from one another in many cases, the dependence of ships on shore elements, etc.), and also the manner in which combat actions are conducted will have an influence on the organization and functioning of rear support in this zone as distinguished from other parts of our national territory.

The material base of society is the foundation for providing the indispensable means of life and combat for all structures in nationwide defense. In this context it is essential to ensure that the objective needs for waging a nationwide defensive war are in line with our real economic and other

capabilities, bearing in mind the specific nature of the various parts of our land area and water area. With respect to the material support of the armed forces, Article 46 of the Law on National Defense states: "The material support of the armed forces shall be organized and conducted by sociopolitical communities, basic organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, each within the limits of its established rights and duties," while Article 47 states: "The material support of the armed forces shall be organized in accordance with the contingency plan and the basic elements of plans, organization, development, construction and equipping of the armed forces. Federal agencies shall organize and conduct supply of the armed forces with armament. The supply of the armed forces with other materials and equipment, food, medical and veterinary care of units, institutions and staffs of the armed forces and the rendering of services, shall be organized and conducted by agencies of the Federation, the republics, the autonomous provinces and opstinas through basic organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, each within the limits of its established rights and duties."

Because of the specific nature of armed combat and the indispensable need for constant and complete combat readiness of the units of the armed forces, it is imperative that they be independent to some degree in the organization and conduct of rear support. Accordingly, units within their table of organization must have rear structures and material stocks (reserves) adequate for a specified period of time. The level of development and degree of independence of organization in units of the armed forces depend basically on the level of development and competence of these activities in sociopolitical communities, work organizations and other organizations, that is, on the possibility of relying on local resources and other facilities for rear support.

Since the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and territorial defense [TO] are responsible for waging combat in a nationwide defensive war, they should have priority over other structures in nationwide defense with respect to supply and other rear support services. YPA units should have a higher degree of independence in planning, organizing and administering rear support. TO units represent the broadest form of organized armed nationwide resistance in the republic, province and opstina, and in principle they are responsible for waging combat on temporarily captured territory. Since TO units rely for rear support (supply of noncombat materiel and services) on sociopolitical communities below the federal level and on organizations of associated labor, in proportion to their needs they develop their own structures for rear support. Because of the special importance and character of seaborne, coastal (island) and other units, their rear support is primarily arranged as part of the rear structures of the YPA, that is, of the navy.

The organization and administration of rear support of the armed forces and other structures of nationwide defense must be coordinated with the needs of the overall system of nationwide defense so that all available personnel

and materiel are committed in the most effective way to meeting the needs of combat and of war in general. This is achieved through suitable placement of production and service activities, material stockpiles and other facilities on a particular land area or water area, and also by establishing close linkage and mutual working relationships between the competent bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities (organizations of associated labor) and commands of units of the armed forces, level by level.

Our socioeconomic system is the fundamental material base and vehicle for meeting all needs of nationwide defense. It continues to function even under wartime conditions, which is why work organizations and other organizations and sociopolitical communities at all levels are compelled to make appropriate preparations in peacetime so that in case of need they can make the transition from the peacetime to the wartime footing in the quickest, most orderly and most painless way. In accordance with the Law on National Defense, sociopolitical communities, each within its rights and duties, draft and adopt their own defense plans, which among other things contain wartime organization, tasks and procedures of the economy, of the public services, of civil defense and of the service for observation, reporting, intelligence and alerting. The plans of sociopolitical communities at lower levels must be brought into conformity with the plans of sociopolitical communities at higher levels. Material allocations and financial appropriations necessary to the making of preparations in the domain of national defense, as called for by defense plans, are provided for in the plans for the socioeconomic development of the sociopolitical community.

#### Military-Geographic and Economic Characteristics of the High Hinterland (Zagorje) and Island Portion of Our Coastal Zone

The conception of nationwide defense makes it a necessity that armed conflict and other forms of nationwide resistance be organized and conducted on all parts of our national land and water area. Accordingly, the high hinterland and island portion of our coastal zone have a particular role. One reason for their importance lies in the fact that the Dalmatian Mountains represent the greatest depth and the islands the first natural obstacle for an aggressor coming by sea. If the high hinterland and island portions, which are underdeveloped, are to be able to perform their functions as effectively as possible, certain elementary infrastructural problems will have to be solved in this area: the highway network, drinking water supply, electrification, medical services, an appropriate level of education and schooling, a commercial network, etc., which means providing appropriate conditions for life and work so as to raise the standard of living and halt the exodus of the population from those areas.

In this context and in view of the importance of the Dalmatian Mountains and islands in a possible war, we arrive at the basic elements for distinguishing the underdeveloped regions of northern and central Dalmatia and the islands, that is, for defining those opstinas which have the status of underdeveloped opstinas, on the basis of their overall geographic and economic makeup, as follows:

The underdeveloped region of northern Dalmatia encompasses Obrovac, Benkovac, Knin and Drnis opstinas. This region consists basically of the Kosovo, Kninsko and Petrovo poljes, the Promina and Kistanje plateaus and Promina Mountain, and the Bukovica massif. This area is open to the sea, and it is connected to the hinterland (Lika, the Una valley and western Bosnia) by an opening between Velebit and the Dinarids, which has geostrategic importance, since it represents the most promising link of Dalmatia and the sea with their natural hinterland.

To a great extent this region's underdevelopment resulted from its isolation from the sea and the continental hinterland. However, it has its good points, among which we might mention the large opportunities it offers for transit to the northern Dalmatian coast, Lika, the Una valley and western Bosnia. Then again, there are routes passing over that area which come from the sea and converge on Kninsko Polje, and through the opening between Velebit and the Dinarids they diverge toward the interior of our country, and the same applies in the opposite direction. Moreover, the main routes which extend along our coast have their most favorable sections in that area, the most important of which are the Obrovac-Knin-Sinj-Imotski route, which continues on to Capljina, and the Zadar-Benkovac-Drnis-Dugopolje-Sestanovac-Vrgorac-Metkovic route. Because of the importance of transportation routes to construction and location of economic facilities, marketing, the educational and cultural standard, and so on, we can say that if new highways were built and existing ones rebuilt, this would have a great impact in speeding up the social and economic development of this portion of our territory.

Since ancient times agriculture and animal husbandry have been the principal economic activities of this region. However, their participation in the national income is now declining more and more. Kninsko, Kosovo and Petrovo poljes are the agricultural areas most in use, but even they are periodically flooded by the rivers Krka, Butisnica, Orasnica, Kosorica and Cikola. For that reason the plowland is of limited use, which makes it a necessity that considerable areas of very fertile land be reclaimed.

Livestock raising has declined considerably as an economic activity, even though the natural conditions have improved. Agriculture and animal husbandry ought to have their true place in economic activity, and our conception of nationwide defense and the large demands of the coastal market offer justification. Another reason is that the agricultural land in this area is among the best in Dalmatia.

Favorable conditions for the development of mining are being created as numerous open bauxite pits are opened and as industrial plants are built in Obrovac and Sibenik for the processing of alumina and the manufacture of aluminum. Along with development of the aluminum industry, there are also favorable conditions for development of the building materials industry, especially because of large deposits of gypsum, quality stone, clay, etc., which also has importance for nationwide defense.

This region has a considerable energy potential since so far only about one-fourth of the hydroelectric potential of the Krka and Zrmanja rivers has been utilized. Because of the importance of electric power to this region and to a wider community, construction of hydroelectric power plants on the Krka and Zrmanja may be one of the lines of future economic development. The tourist industry, which again has not found its place in this region even though the valleys of the Krka and Zrmanja (waterfalls, flora, cultural monuments, etc.) offer great opportunities for its development.

The underdeveloped region of central Dalmatia: this includes Sinj, Imotski and Vrgorac opstinas, that is, the high hinterland region of central Dalmatia. This is an elongated region, about 140 km long and averaging about 20 km wide. The divide between the Cetina and Neretva rivers, approximately along the line connecting Arzano and Zadvarje, can be divided into almost two equal parts: the Cetina region and the Imotski-Vrgorac region.

The Cetina region is slightly more distance and separated from the sea in its northern portion by several mountain chains (Svilaja, Mosec, Vilaja, Kozjak and Mosor), while the Imotski-Vrgorac region is some 10 or 15 km from the sea (on a straight line) along its entire length, and it is the range of Biokovo and Rilic that stands between. Natural openings in this coastal mountain range are Kliska Vrata, the Cetina valley and several passes over Biokovo and Rilic, which up to now have not been enough for any strong economic linkage. The conditions for linkage with the deeper hinterland (Bosnia) are also difficult. The pass via Vaganj is a poor road, so that the Cetina region is almost isolated from Livanjsko Polje. The terrain is somewhat lower toward the east, so that it is through the Arzano-Kamensko pass that the best highway connection has so far been made via Livno and Duvno and beyond toward the interior of the country. Conditions for linking the Imotski-Vrgorac region via Posusje and Ljubuski to Bosnia and Hercegovina and the valley of the Neretva are somewhat more favorable, but so far they have not been fully utilized.

The proximity of the sea has not so far had major importance for this region's economic development. Its natural isolation from the sea and hinterland, and even from the Knin region and the Neretva valley, has had an essential impact on this region's underdevelopment. That is why favorable influences, especially in the Imotski-Vrgorac region, have been slow to penetrate. For example, industry and mining are in their very beginnings, and agriculture and livestock raising have still not taken the place due them. It would have quite a substantial impact on this region's economic development if the coast near Split and near Makarska were linked to the interior of the country, and this could best be done, in spite of the separation represented by the range of Kozjak, Mosor and Biokovo, through the Cetina and Imotski-Vrgorac regions. In addition to transverse routes, coastwise (inland) transportation routes are also of particular importance to this region. For example, links between the northern and southern coasts, that is, between Lika and northern Dalmatia and the valley of the Neretva, could best be made by routes running the length of the Cetina and

motski-Vrgorac regions. Today there is an ever greater need to shift a part of the burden, which is particularly heavy, to the other side of Mosor and Biokovo.

Sinjsko, Imotsko and Vrgoracko poljes (Jezero and Rastok) offer very favorable natural conditions for development of agriculture, especially viticulture, fruit growing, tobacco, vegetable crops, etc. There is enough water, provided it is properly used, and the climate makes it possible to raise crops which cannot be raised so effectively in the interior of our country. If optimum conditions are to be achieved for development of agriculture in this region, there must be reclamation of Sinjsko, Imotsko and Vrgoracko poljes, that is, they must be protected against floods and made suitable for cultivation.

The smaller plateaus and karstic slopes (pastures) can also be rationally used, especially for raising livestock. More attention should be paid to development of animal husbandry, especially the raising of cattle, sheep and goats, since favorable natural conditions and a rich tradition already exist. The development of animal husbandry in hilly and mountain terrain is not only a requirement of agriculture and the market, but also a significant element in nationwide defense, which was indeed proven in the last war.

Were greater use made of them, mineral resources and hydroelectric power would also contribute to this region's development and to reducing the exodus of manpower. The most sizable mineral reserves are bauxite, coal, gypsum, clay and sand. Further construction of hydroelectric power plants on the Cetina could be a source of power significant to the economic structure of that region and of a broader social community. Hardly any attention at all has been paid to the development of tourism so far, though there are good natural conditions, especially if we bear in mind the proximity of the sea and the opportunities for mountain tourism.

In addition to the intensification of agriculture and animal husbandry and greater utilization of mineral wealth and hydroelectric power, speeding up this region's economic and social development also requires that certain industrial plants be built, especially in light (manufacturing) industry, a branch which is labor-intensive. This would create jobs and would give the local population more security, and it would also tend to reduce the exodus of people going to work abroad and the migration to urban centers on the coast. Aside from the impact they have on social and economic development, the unfavorable demographic situation and the large exodus of manpower are also having a very adverse effect on implementation of the conception of nationwide defense in this region and in the coastal zone as a whole.

The underdeveloped island region: this includes Vis, Lastovo and Pag opstinas, and we can also include the islands belonging to Zadar, Biograd na moru, Sibenik, Trogir, Split and Dubrovnik opstinas. For example, the Sibenik islands, especially Zlarin, Prvic, Zirje and Kaprije, are among the



most underdeveloped parts of Croatia. Though there are obvious differences among our islands, beginning with their size, the configuration of the terrain, population density, distance from the coast, level of economic development, geostrategic importance, and so on, because of the natural position which they occupy, we can still speak of them as entities in terms of economic geography. Their position and significance in the defensive system of our coast and coastal sea must give them not only local importance, but also broader Yugoslav importance from the standpoint of military geography. The functions of our islands from the standpoint of military strategy have been proven down through history, especially in our National Liberation War, and they should assume even greater importance in the future. It is in that context that we should treat our islands as underdeveloped regions; that is, appropriate steps should be taken to boost their economic and social development, which has importance to the entire society.

It is a fact that the functions of the islands from the standpoint of military strategy cannot be fully manifested if they are not sufficiently inhabited and economically developed. That is why better linkage of the islands with their natural coastal centers is one of the principal preconditions for their economic and social development. For that reason ships and other links between the islands and the mainland should be more regular, reliable, faster and economical, especially in the case of the larger and more remote islands like Vis and Lastovo. The links on the islands themselves, which actually should be an extension of the links provided by ships, are also an important element; in addition to appropriate docks (ferry slips), there is also a need to build good roads to make links with the interior of the islands and with the various settlements on them.

Most of our islands do not have enough arable land, and even where it exists, it is cultivated less and less because of the manpower shortage. In development of agriculture on the islands more attention should be paid to promotion of viticulture, olive growing, fruit growing and market gardening, for which favorable climatic and other conditions do exist. Beekeeping and the gathering of medicinal herbs could also be practiced more frequently on our islands. There are very favorable natural conditions and a long tradition for the raising of small livestock, especially sheep, primarily on Pag, but even there this is now in decline. Fishing and the processing of fish are also very valuable as a source of food and an important condition for employing the local population. This industry could have a more substantial place today, since it is an activity of particular importance both to the island population and also to the broader social community. The processing of agricultural products, and then the working of plastics, stone and wood, could also contribute to higher employment and to raising the standard of living of the population on the islands. Boat-building has a rich tradition on most of our islands, and efforts should be made to keep it from dying, since this is particularly important to nationwide defense.

Our islands have good natural conditions for development of tourism as well; in this connection one should particularly emphasize the clean water of the sea, the good beaches and the very favorable climatic conditions. However, poor links with the coast and the water supply still represent a special problem for most of our islands. The water supply of the central Dalmatian islands would mainly be taken care of if drinking water is diverted from the coast to Brac and Solta and in the foreseeable future via Hvar to Vis and via Peljesce and Korcula to Mljet and Lastovo. Similar plans exist for Zlarin, Prvic and other islands; their realization would solve one of the most important problems in their economic and social development.

In connection with what we have said we can state that the natural conditions, especially on the larger islands, afford possibilities for development of several lines of economic activity, but particularly tourism, fishing, agriculture, the raising of small livestock, and production and service activities. However, all of this depends on holding the able-bodied people who are there and on the return of those who have left. If the local population is to stay on our underdeveloped islands, the prerequisites have to be created for them to live there normally and creatively. Given the great importance which the islands have as a region in our country's defense system, this problem area ought to be examined and dealt with as soon and as comprehensively as possible at all levels and in all structures of society, so that in a real war situation the conception of nationwide defense might be implemented in practice as effectively as possible in this region as in others.

#### Peacetime Preparations for Meeting Noncombat Supply and Service Needs

This is a lengthy process in which all structures of society should participate, which is why a systematic and comprehensive approach should be taken to dealing with it both from the standpoint of the needs of nationwide defense and also the capabilities of the coastal zone and the broader social community. Specific measures will be given by elements so that this problem area can be examined as completely as possible.

Furnishing necessary quantities of food in the coastal zone to meet the needs of the armed forces and other structures in nationwide defense will be a special obligation under wartime conditions. This goes beyond the scope of mere logistics, since it is not only a biological and medical category, but also a political category in view of its bearing on morale. This is a complex and very difficult area which has vital importance to the entire society and it must be dealt with in an organized and planned way even in peacetime.

Even in peacetime it is difficult to furnish our coastal zone with the food it needs from local sources. That is why all available opportunities in this area must be rationally utilized and brought under planned production and distribution. This applies first of all to grains, vegetables, fruit, livestock, poultry, fish, spices, etc. In this connection we should also

bear in mind the need for corresponding facilities to process grains, vegetables and fruit, and then to manufacture fish, meat and dairy products, since this will make it possible to use them more rationally and to keep them more easily over a long period of time. Because of the limited opportunities for production of basic food items, all available food resources and production capabilities in the coastal zone should be planned and rationally used, and concern should be shown about their replenishment.

In addition to its own production, it is extremely important to our coastal zone that appropriate food reserves be built up and stored for wartime needs, not only because its production capabilities are inadequate, but also because of the possibility of various enemy actions, especially when food is being advanced from the depth of our territory. For all these reasons there is a need now in peacetime to create and store in this area food reserves which are appropriate in both assortment and quantity. This means that in addition to current reserves and the reserves of units of the armed forces, sizable wartime reserves of basic foodstuffs should also be located in the coastal zone; this applies to reserves for various levels from the Federation to the opstina. It is therefore necessary to furnish the appropriate storage space at suitable locations and then to define measures for protection and safekeeping and describe procedures in case of an immediate danger of aggression and the manner in which they would be accepted, distributed, replenished, inspected, etc. The creation and storage of wartime food reserves is a very complicated and responsible task which should be performed by the competent agencies of sociopolitical communities and certain organizations of associated labor in cooperation with the relevant commands of units of the armed forces on the relevant territory.

Meat and meat products represent a special problem in building up food reserves. The most favorable and economic way to solve this problem is to create meat reserves in the form of live animals, both livestock and poultry. The reason is that it is very difficult and practically unfeasible to create such large refrigerated facilities or to produce and preserve such quantities of processed meat products so as to furnish meat reserves for units of the armed forces and the population that would last several months.

The funds invested to develop livestock and poultry raising are constantly renewed and returned. Livestock and poultry can literally reproduce themselves. In the coastal zone, especially in the high Dalmatian hinterland and on the islands, the conditions for this are very favorable. What we need are appropriate programs, good organization, capital formation and the necessary investments in order to achieve the optimum results. We should particularly emphasize that the development of animal husbandry not only creates meat reserves, but also makes it possible to develop the processing industry and furnish it milk and dairy products.

The raising of livestock also has an effect on development of the raw materials base of the textile industry and the leather industry. The orientation toward meat, milk, wool and leather provides a motivation for development of the processing industry, for investments which will encourage the

domestic population to stay in their native place. Due attention should be paid not only to the socialized sector, but also to private farmers, who have a very important place under wartime conditions. In nationwide defense it is precisely the local details which have great importance to the supply of food and other materials. Along with the development of livestock and poultry raising, efforts should be intensified to raise fodder crops, for which conditions are also favorable. The islands have possibilities not only for catching and processing fish and shellfish, but also favorable conditions for undertakings in livestock and poultry raising to encompass entire areas, which has been proven in practice, that is, for collective and individual steps to be combined into a united undertaking. In view of what we have said, appropriate instruments must be found for credit financing, purchasing has to be organized, there must be exemptions or minimum payment of fiscal charges, especially the charge for pasturage, effective veterinary prevention must be organized, and so on. If these and certain other problems are effectively solved in peacetime, this certainly will be a large contribution to practical solution of food problems under wartime conditions in the coastal zone.

The water supply has an essential effect on the combat capability of the armed forces and other structures in nationwide defense. In discussing the problems of the water supply we should bear in mind the fact that some of our islands and the great number of settlements in the high hinterland of the coastal zone still do not have sufficient running water for drinking. A large portion of this region still obtains its water supply from cisterns, wells and small springs, or it depends on the hauling of water, especially in the dry period of summer. We should also bear in mind that water is an elementary condition for life, so that in the context of nationwide defense it should be treated as a strategic material. Accordingly, not only should regional and opstina (local) water supply systems be built, but we also need in peacetime to prepare appropriate facilities (cisterns, wells, collapsible and other tanks, etc.) for use under wartime conditions, especially in regions without water. We should also support efforts to find optimum solutions for desalinization of seawater and for finding groundwater, that is, for utilizing water reserves which are in limestone caverns, which is of particular importance for warfare, especially should nuclear, chemical or biological weapons be used.

Any possible war would certainly compel us in this area to return to ancient methods of water supply (cisterns [catrnje and gusterne], wells and similar sources), both private and community, which have been abandoned, and gutters on the roofs of apartment buildings, occasional local springs which have also been forgotten, caverns in the karst on whose floor there is safe drinking water, snowpacks, springs along the coast, pools, puddles, etc. Even now in peacetime an inventory should be taken of all natural springs and other accumulations of drinking and other water, they should be repaired and maintained and the water in them tested so that no undesirable consequences occur should they be used. This becomes all the more important if we think of the vulnerability of the existing water supply systems and

submarine pipelines to enemy actions, especially those of commando groups and other forces for "special warfare."

In view of the importance of water to life and combat, the karstic nature of the terrain and the shortage of water in a major portion of the coastal zone, especially on the islands and in the high hinterland, arrangement for the water supply of units of the armed forces and other structures in nationwide defense deserves exceptional attention at all levels and in all structures of society. It is therefore imperative that all responsible entities and competent agencies and bodies of sociopolitical communities and organizations of associated labor and the commands of units of the armed forces in a particular area combine their efforts, since this is the best way of preparing the coastal zone for wartime conditions from the standpoint of hydrology.

Production of clothing and footwear and other consumer goods under wartime conditions would inevitably impose a system of allocations on use of existing manufacturing facilities, consumption of raw materials and other supplies, and use of the finished product. Even in peacetime, then, we should examine and carry out definite preparations to adapt the present production of the textile, leather and similar industries to wartime conditions. In addition to industrial production, provision and preparations must also be made for semi-industrial, handicraft and improvised technological procedures, specifically in which domestic raw materials are used. One of the requirements of effective organization of wartime production is to arrange in advance the appropriate reserves of raw materials and supplies, the necessary tools, patterns and models, spare parts and manufacturing instructions, and also to specify the way in which they shall be preserved, stored, maintained and replenished. So that these needs can be reconciled within sociopolitical communities at higher levels, uniform plans should be prepared with precisely defined regions, time, forces and facilities for carrying on this production for wartime needs on both free territory and also on territory temporarily occupied.

In looking at this problem area we should bear in mind that consumption of clothing and footwear increases two-threefold under wartime conditions. In wartime local forces will prove to be the primary sources, particularly to meet the needs of the population. We should expect the cottage industry to revive once again in the production of clothing and footwear and also of other articles. The need to replace footwear, especially winter footwear, will be more urgent and complicated than the replacement of clothing. Since light street shoes are not suitable for karstic terrain, sandals with a rubber sole and high shoes will have preference. Clothing should also be adapted to this terrain and climate. The relevant specialized services concerned with production and trade of clothing and footwear should be especially involved in this work.

Medicine and medical supplies. Health care in contemporary warfare is an important factor in offering resistance to an aggressor. Under the conditions of nationwide defensive warfare it becomes still more important

because the entire population is involved in one way or another in various forms of resistance to the aggressor. Aside from its importance from the standpoint of military medicine, health care also has a very great impact on morale and the political situation.

Integration of the health services of sociopolitical communities and of the medical service of the armed forces is a logical consequence of the process of socialization of defense; in this integration each of them has its own organization and its own jurisdiction. For instance, the health service of sociopolitical communities is basically the regional part of the health system; it is organized by regions and covers the entire territory and sees that the injured and sick can be cared for under all wartime conditions, while the medical service of the armed forces is the mobile component of the health system; it is equipped to offer medical care to the injured and sick and, if necessary, to prepare them for evacuation to regional medical institutions. The organization of the health service of sociopolitical communities by regions should be set up so as to facilitate timely preparation and creation of the necessary capacity for preventive medical protection, for independent (outpatient, specialized and inpatient) treatment, for taking and storing blood, and also for supplying medicine and other medical supplies to all structures in nationwide defense.

The supply of medicine and other medical supplies, especially blood and blood substitutes, is an essential component in health care. We must bear in mind that under the conditions of a nationwide defensive war needs for medicine and other medical supplies will increase several times over because of the characteristics of contemporary warfare and the difficult living and working conditions. For that reason making provision in peacetime for the sources of supply of medicine and other medical supplies under wartime conditions is one of the most important and highest priority tasks of the health service in general, but particularly in the coastal zone.

The limited possibilities for production of pharmaceutical products in the coastal zone makes it a necessity that the sizable stockpiles of medical supplies for wartime needs be created in peacetime. These reserves become still more important because in this region they would be a principal source of supply for all structures in society, especially in the initial period of war. That is why wartime reserves of medical supplies in storage depots and pharmacies must always be kept in conformity with the relevant quotas and product list. It should also be borne in mind that it is mandatory to abide by the prescribed manner of their storage and replenishment (certain drugs have a limited shelf life, etc.), relevant inspection measures, procedures in critical situations, etc. We should emphasize that unless the necessary reserves of medicine and other important medical supplies are provided for in time, regardless of personnel and other capabilities, the combat capability of the health service in the coastal zone may be jeopardized under wartime conditions. It is, then, necessary to examine all needs and available capabilities, including local sources as well, that is, capabilities for manufacture of certain improvised supplies, especially under the conditions of temporarily occupied territory. This makes it a necessity for the

health service in this region to take a comprehensive approach to the full range of preparations so as to find optimum solutions for wartime conditions, beginning with appropriate training of medical personnel, including creation of physical facilities and the specific preparations of various regions or areas, and ending with establishment of the kind of system of management which would be required by health care in a nationwide defensive war in the coastal zone.

Equipment. Preparations for the supply of equipment are made in accordance with preparations being made in other areas, since many positions, measures and solutions have been jointly adopted. First thought must be given to the supply of appropriate raw materials, intermediate products, producer goods, etc., for wartime production (of weapons and other equipment), for which favorable opportunities exist in this area, and particularly for sea-borne components of nationwide defense. Particular attention should be paid to the supply of appropriate spare parts, individual assemblies and units, tools, and expendable items called for in equipment design. These reserves should be formed on the basis of definite criteria and in conformity with a product list that is the same for all components in nationwide defense, that is, to meet the needs of society as a whole, and the stockpiles should be deployed along specified operational routes or in specific parts of the territory of the coastal zone.

There will be a great need for repairs of equipment in a possible war, which is why preparations are being made in peacetime and certain organizations of associated labor are being equipped for operation under wartime conditions. Their wartime organizational structure and the manner of their transition from peacetime to wartime production include provisions for a supply of energy, additional trained personnel and the necessary technical and technological instructions, producer goods, spare parts, equipment, tools and other items. All of this should be dealt with and carried out in peacetime so that they can operate effectively under wartime conditions.

Proceeding on the basis of the conditions of contemporary warfare and the characteristics of a nationwide defensive war, we should strive in peacetime to provide a broad network of organizations for repairing and maintaining equipment which will be common in all components of nationwide defense and in the society at large. Accordingly, small shipyards, repair plants, various workshops and service centers, etc., which are properly distributed along particular routes (on particular parts of the territory), when given additional trained personnel and when their other needs are met, will become still more important. Equipment to rescue and tow damaged and broken down equipment are particularly important, as are the relevant mobile units (workshops, teams, etc.) which can be sent by sea, air or land to the location of damaged (broken down) equipment to repair the breakdown (damage) on the spot.

Adoption of standards, interchangeability and product standardization of equipment comprise a very relevant concern in the conception of nationwide

defense. This is particularly important in the case of motors, electrical equipment, electronics, prime movers, and certain quartermaster, medical and other supplies. Because of the diversity of certain pieces of equipment, there might be such unfavorable situations, say, because of the lack of some "small" spare part that we are compelled to give up a particular piece of equipment (device) as a whole. That is why in peacetime we should undertake to adopt standards and achieve interchangeability in combat and noncombat equipment in all components of society, since this facilitates their maintenance and repair, including the possibility of mutual substitution of their various parts (assemblies), which is especially important under wartime conditions.

The supply of power for production and repair facilities has particular importance under wartime conditions and necessitates the appropriate assessments, analyses and preparations in peacetime. In addition to inclusion in the present system of electric power supply and the supply of liquid and solid fuels, especially important work organizations and other organizations should also have their own (backup) sources of energy (power plants) should the general systems be disrupted. Mobile repair facilities (workshops) should be able not only to hook up to general systems, but they should also have their own (autonomous) sources of power for their operation. The necessary conditions for all this should be achieved in peacetime along particular routes (in particular areas), and the competent bodies of the armed forces and sociopolitical communities, as well as certain organizations of associated labor in the particular area, should be involved.

The large-scale use of motor vehicles, ships, aircraft and other pieces of equipment in peacetime and wartime necessitates large expenditures of fuel and lubricants. Fuels for propulsion have strategic importance to the conduct of armed conflict and for meeting the needs of the economy and of the population generally. That is why the successful supply of fuels under wartime conditions is a very essential and very crucial task, one whose complexity is manifested in the specific requirements for their storage, handling, transport, precautionary measures, etc.

Bearing in mind the specific features of armed conflict, possible losses and other difficulties, the creation and keeping of fuel reserves based on definite assessments and calculations, along specified operational routes (in particular areas) is one of the basic prerequisites for the successful conduct of combat operations under present-day wartime conditions. Accordingly, current market inventories of fuels in depots, at gasoline stations, etc., should always be kept at an adequate level. With respect to fuels stored above ground in tanks (at refineries, storage facilities for ships, etc.), appropriate measures and procedures should be envisaged for their movement and evacuation to more secure areas (wartime sites), since they will be very attractive targets for various kinds of enemy attacks. In addition to protecting fuel reserves to use for our own needs, we should also bear in mind the possible consequences to the environment (nearby



settlements, economic facilities and other structures) should they be destroyed (fire, explosion, etc.).

Because of more careful consumption of liquid fuels and because of disturbances in the supply of electric power and gas under wartime conditions, solid fuels will be used to a greater extent, especially for heating, cooking and similar needs. Coal and wood will certainly be used much more than is the case in peacetime. Provisions should therefore be made in peacetime for appropriate equipment so that particular consumers (devices and equipment) can be converted from liquid to solid fuel, that is, facilitate the substitution for electric power and gas, since otherwise there might be undesirable consequences.

At the end of this article we might state that our constitution, the Law on National Defense and other federal and republic statutes, as well as the conception of nationwide defense that has been adopted, make it obligatory that peacetime preparations be made in every respect for defense against a possible aggression, and in this rear support of the armed forces and of other components of nationwide defense has a large and important role. Accordingly, we should emphasize that in recent years these preparations have speeded up in all components of society, and important results have been achieved, so that effective functioning of rear support in nationwide defensive war is now assured. The more all-inclusive, thorough and realistic peacetime preparations at all levels and in all components of society, the faster and more painless will be the transition from a peacetime to a wartime footing, and the lighter and fewer will be our difficulties, casualties and sacrifices in a possible war.

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UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' SUMMER MILITARY TRAINING UNDER WAY

Lessons of First Year

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jun 77 p 6

[Article by C. Golubovic: "YPA: Training Units--Second Student Summer"]

[Text] The Training Administration of the YPA General Staff Has Prepared a Special Pamphlet on Rights and Obligations for All First-Year Students Who Will Be Undergoing Training This Summer in Military Training Centers

Though a week or two still remained before commencement of this year's session of training students in military disciplines and skills, training centers all over the country are ready even now to receive this entire class of fulltime and parttime freshmen. The starting date for this year's 16-day training camp is, of course, variously scheduled: military training centers in Serbia will receive students on 1 July, while the others will do this between 5 and 20 July. However, they all have one thing in common: the instructors have prepared themselves thoroughly so that this year's results of training will exceed last year's.

In this sense, we were told in the Training Administration of the YPA General Staff, last year's experience and lessons are the foundation on which preparations were based for this summer's training.

Almost immediately after the end of last year's July-August training, which involved almost 50,000 fulltime first-year students of university schools, academies, junior and senior colleges the Training Administration of the YPA General Staff launched an extensive study of the overall results in training young people in the three areas of military specialties, political ideology and morale and indoctrination. All the analyses showed that the summertime training of students was a "direct hit." In the words of Col Tripo Vucinic, the results of this study showed that the military organizations functioned particularly well, but there was nothing lacking in the commitment of the students themselves either. The very fact that during last year's training session there was not even the slightest trouble provides sufficient evidence that the enthusiasm of the youths exceeded all expectations.

"The study also showed," Col Vucinic said, "that the students themselves were not always as we sometimes see them. That is, it is frequently thought that students are people who want to avoid anything that is difficult. However, they are not always looking for the easy way out. They gave the best evidence of this last year. Countless times they themselves asked for a maximum of field work and a minimum of classroom work."

In spite of all the good results, certain shortcomings were also manifested during last year's student training. Along these lines the study revealed that to a considerable extent the students did not have timely information about their rights and duties. "Last year it was left to universities and organizations of the Socialist Youth League and the League of Communists in those institutions to do the job of informing the students," Col Vucinic said. "However, since students from many places had not received adequate preparation and information, and in order to avoid a similar situation this year, the Training Administration issued a special pamphlet for students and young people back in March concerning all the rights and obligations of trainees in youth training units. We issued this pamphlet to all students and also sent them to higher educational institutions and units of the Yugoslav People's Army so that there will be no problems at all this year about the students being informed."

This study showed that in some places there were lapses in cooperation between opstina national defense agencies and the commands of units themselves. There were cases, for instance, when a single training center would be visited by five or six different delegations in a single week or on the same day, and they would all visit the students at the same time and talk to them. "If this were planned in advance in the opstina," Comrade Vucinic said, "there would be no such cases, and there would be advance knowledge as to who was visiting youth training units at what time and in what manner."

The study also showed that a few students were not delivered their summons for training because of the poor keeping of records, and this will be corrected this year. A negligible number of students tried to evade or postpone training. However, as Col Vucinic put it, there were also certain other oversights. Certain opstina national defense agencies leniently postponed training for students even though the law precisely specifies when and under what conditions training may be postponed. The pamphlet issued to the students also contains provisions concerning the right to postponement and interruption of training, and it is altogether certain that last year's mistakes will not be repeated.

There is also eloquent evidence that preparations for this year's student training in military science and skills have been completed with thorough success in the information imparted by Col Vucinic that this spring there were not even the usual questions that were asked before the beginning of last year's training. "The class of students who went through military training centers last year made quite a contribution to this," Tripo

Vucinic emphasized. "After all, no one else can be as convincing in furnishing information about the summer training of first-year students."

So, the training centers of the YPA are standing ready for the new class of students. Everything seems to indicate that this year's results of training will be better than last year's.

#### Conditioning, Tactics, Firing Emphasized

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 77 p 10

[Article by Radislav Cuk: "How Students Are Training for Defense: They Are Not on a Summer Vacation"]

[Text] Although It Is Not Easy to Cover the Whole Program in 16 Days, Students Stoically Put Up With All the Difficulties: They Are Convinced That This Kind of Training Is Indispensable

The freshmen students undergoing practical military training in Pozarevac, as in other centers, are not on summer vacation. To be sure, they do have certain privileges compared to young men who are in military service (they can go to town more often, for example), but when it comes to training, it is considerably more difficult for them: the program is very full, and the time is short--16 days. There are obviously difficulties, yet, we were told, the students are surprising their officers with their zeal. Many, for example, are unaccustomed to boots, and they have been going on the long marches with blisters! They refuse to be given an easier time. They ask to be allowed to wear gym shoes so that they would not be left out of training on the drill fields. A soldier in his wartime outfit, who with a helmet on his head and gym shoes on his feet perhaps evoked laughter from some citizens of Pozarevac, but they were also applauded!

#### "Wounds" Healed

We visited the students near the end of the 16-day training session. The officers told us that perhaps some members of this "army" of students still went to the drill field in gym shoes, but that the "wounds" had healed--while they stayed on their feet. Many had also gotten over sore muscles without complaints.

The officers praised the courage of these young men, but they also cautioned that preparations for student training were not properly made even this year. They say it is easy to judge from the physical conditioning of the young men in training which faculty they come from and how much was done in terms of physical preparation. Students from Novi Sad University, it turned out, were better prepared physically than their colleagues from Belgrade University. There is little classroom work here in any case. They have that at the university or in secondary school. They are here for practical training, above all training in tactics and firing.

Our host took us several kilometers from the garrison to see the students carrying out an exercise by squads and platoons in how defense should be organized when a settlement is attacked. They reached the exercise grounds on foot. They will go back the same way. They need to be in condition (soldiers would probably have been brought here by truck).

Even the military specialists we talked to soon concluded that the students are carrying out their assignments in excellent fashion. The observers included Air Force Gen Lt Col Dragoman Radojicic, republic secretary for national defense of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Gen Lt Col Petar Gracanin, commanding officer of the Belgrade Military District.

#### Unnoticed Along the "Paths of Silence"

The officers of the Pozarevac Garrison told us in advance to pay attention to the "paths of silence." These would be the routes the students would take on a mission of stealing up to a settlement on the slope. We waited and waited. One young man among the observers impatiently asked: where are they, why don't we see them? The students doing their military training had already moved halfway up the slope. They skillfully slipped through hedges and brush and crawled between the rows of corn swaying gently in the breeze....

On the exercise ground used for close-range antiarmor combat a tank was moving along the road toward the settlement. The students tried to stop it and destroy it. They fired rifle grenades. Their shots were aimed at the most vulnerable points of the iron monster. There were some misses, but most hit the target. Since this was the first time they had that weapon in their hands, the officers did not conceal how pleased they were.

In this exercise every student had to perform nine different drills. In one of them they had to conceal themselves in a narrow trench while a tank passed over them. They also learned how combat can be waged successfully against tanks from a settlement.

On the grounds of the garrison it is like a very beautiful park. They returned singing "Tito is a marshal, Tito is a genius. Tito is the commander in chief of our armed forces...." Gen Radojicic, republic secretary for national defense, wore a broad smile. A bit later, in an informal meeting under a large tent, he told the students: "We know it is not easy for you. But when it comes to the interest of the homeland, then you also must prove yourselves to be ready; after all, you have learned or have heard about the war. War is a cruel school, and it hits young men the hardest. Those who do not know about defense quickly die, so you must be prepared. Large funds are being spent for your training and also for the training of young people who are not in school, including young women, but this money is not being thrown away. An aggressor, should he attack us by some chance, would not hunt you down through the streets. You will be ready to resist him, to strike back and to join others in driving him from the country."

The students listened and applauded. They were informed that they would most probably be given a temporary assignment in territorial defense. After all, every citizen of our country, Gen Radojicic mentioned, must have a wartime task, so as to be prepared for it.

#### A Part of University Reform

Distinguished military officers asked the students to express their frank opinion about the content of training, the way it was conducted and anything else related to training. Some 10 or so students raised their hands. They all said that training was indispensable to them. Some suggested that it should be extended to 25 days. They had only the best to say about their officers and about comradeship.... They complained about their poor conditioning. They criticized themselves for not having been prepared. They will tell their younger comrades to concentrate their attention on that.

Mane Budisavljevic, prorector of Belgrade University, congratulated them:

"Even this part of upbringing and education is a part of university reform. After all, it has been an intolerable situation in which all our citizens are preparing for defense in good time, except for students who do not acquire this knowledge until they are 25 or 27...."

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### PREPARATIONS FOR FOOD PROCESSING IN WARTIME

Belgrade VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian No 3, May-Jun 77 pp 28-34

[Article by Lt Col Vojin Mrvic, graduate economist: "Preparations of the Agroindustrial Complex for Nationwide Defensive Warfare"]

[Text] The satisfactory of the operation of the agroindustrial complex consisting of agricultural production, the food processing industry, production reserves, and the reserves of and trade in products of agriculture and the food processing industry is an important condition for effective resistance and the waging of armed conflict against an aggressor. This follows from the fact that the agroindustrial complex fills everyday basic and essential needs for food and clothing.<sup>1</sup>

Contemporary warfare, even when it is local, will require maximum psychophysical exertion of man, the basic factor in nationwide defense.<sup>2</sup> One of the important conditions for coping with these exertions and protecting human health is to provide normal nutrition, which is the basic function of the agroindustrial complex. The agroindustrial complex can perform this function only if comprehensive planning preparations are made in peacetime so that it can function effectively from the very outset of aggression and "without a special transition to a wartime footing."<sup>3</sup>

The importance of the preparations of society as a whole to repel an aggressor and effectively defend the country has been vividly emphasized by Gen Col Viktor Bubanj: "Under present-day conditions the defense of the country and victory in war are largely achieved in peacetime."<sup>4</sup> Because of the significant influence of external factors,<sup>5</sup> which make it difficult for the agroindustrial complex to adapt on short notice, in recent times this can be applied to the agroindustrial complex as a rule.

#### Preparation of the Agroindustrial Complex for Nationwide Defensive War

Preparation of the agroindustrial complex for nationwide defensive war follows from the constitutional provisions defining the rights and duties of sociopolitical communities, organizations of associated labor, self-managed

organizations and communities, and other bodies and agencies, in accordance with law and the assigned basic components of the defense plan and the preparatory measures in the domain of the agroindustrial complex, to arrange and organize national defense and to supply materials (food and raw materials for clothing and footwear) in accordance with national defense plans to meet the needs of the civilian population and the armed forces. The following principles are taken as points of departure with respect to the supply of materials and the planning of the wartime supply systems:

a) That the material support of armed conflict shall be based primarily on the country's own resources, and this reliance shall be almost exclusive with respect to food and clothing.

b) That it is an integral part of the socioeconomic system and shall be organized so as to meet the needs of the country's defense system even under the most difficult conditions of aggression--for a lengthy and exhausting war, and it shall supply the civilian population and the armed forces over the entire territory of Yugoslavia as a single system.

c) That the optimum conditions for waging armed conflict and offering tough resistance to an aggressor are achieved by adopting the territorial or regional principle in organizing the supply of noncombat materials and services, which include food and clothing and services, to the civilian population and the armed forces.

The institutional foundations, principles and provisions governing preparation of the agroindustrial complex for nationwide defensive war are put in specific terms in the plans for socioeconomic development and national defense plans of sociopolitical communities, organizations of associated labor, self-managed organizations and communities, and other bodies and agencies, and these plans are implemented by means of specific programs. This is a rational and effective way of fulfilling socioeconomic interests and goals and of solving their problem of military and economic duality before there is a war. This concept of preparing the material basis for supplying armed conflict and the population in a nationwide defensive war also follows from our military doctrine, which holds "... that there shall be neither front nor rear, but only the huge and unified front of the armed populace, and as such that doctrine does not conform to the conventional secret war doctrine, which is sealed behind a hundred doors. Its strength lies in the fact that it is public and involves the entire people."<sup>6</sup>

The principle of incorporating the requirements of nationwide defense into development plans is also contained in our strategy of armed conflict, which states: "The country's development plans are an integral part of the foundation for harmonious advancement of preparations for the conduct of armed conflict,"<sup>7</sup> and it has also been sanctioned in the Law on National Defense: "Organizations of associated labor have a duty to bring their own development plans and programs into conformity with the needs of national defense and plans for defense of the country."<sup>8</sup>



Accordingly, the specific features of the agroindustrial complex and the institutional foundations and doctrinal postulates of the conception of nationwide defense point to the conclusion that the integration of peacetime and wartime goals and interests, which are fulfilled through peacetime development of the agroindustrial complex, represent its essential feature as a system and the principal mode of preparation.

#### Bringing the Agroindustrial Complex Into Line With the Regional Principle of Supply

The physiognomy and characteristics of a possible future war which would be waged in the Yugoslav theater of war, as well as our doctrinal and strategic postulates concerning the offering of armed resistance to an aggressor even in the gravest form of aggression makes it imperative that we examine how well production capacities, the trade in products of agriculture and the food processing industry fit with the regional principle of supply. In making our assessment of the degree of reliability of food supply in a nationwide defensive war, we take as our point of departure the supply principle that a satisfactory degree of reliability is assured when every region can meet its own needs for a specified period of time with its own production and reserves (if production is inadequate), and that time would in principle be one farming year, assuming provision for reserves to be carried over at the necessary level.

These considerations motivated us to analyze the material capabilities (production capabilities of the hilly and mountain region and the plains region) and to compare them with needs based on levels of consumption under rationing and the size of the settled or permanent population.

The results of the analysis indicate that there is a disproportion between production capacities and the need for food. Following the harvest and processing raw and processed foodstuffs intended for regular consumption move one after the other from the surplus (plains) region to the deficit (hilly and mountain) region at quite short intervals and mainly in accord with short-term demand. For that reason any disruption of trade could impede supply. To ensure regular supply in an exceptional situation, one would have to begin to consume permanent commodity reserves. This reduces the period of assured food supply, creates a disproportion between needs and resources, and makes the transition to wartime production more difficult.

The regional location of the production of raw and processed foodstuffs, the organization of the peacetime food trade and the reserves system are not sufficiently in line with the regional principle of supply. If in this connection we bear in mind the possible drop in production in wartime because of military operations and disruption of trade, we can conclude that there would be a serious food shortage in case of a prolonged war.

In order to overcome this situation, numerous steps consisting of advice, research and development (the program of meat reserves consisting of live

animals, etc.) have been taken since 1970. The compact concerning the basic components of Yugoslavia's social plan for development of the agroindustrial complex in the period between 1976 and 1980 set forth the joint goals of particular interest to national defense and the measures to achieve them. One of those goals is promotion of faster development of the hilly and mountain regions and islands and creation of the socioeconomic conditions for more rapid development of these regions. In order to realize this aim the socialist republics and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo have assumed the obligation to adopt programs for development of the hilly and mountain regions before the end of 1977 in conformity with the advantages of those regions, national defense plans and physical balances and to enact the appropriate implementation. To promote and facilitate the achievement of this goal the Federal Secretariat for National Defense decided to fund the research project entitled "Study of the Possibilities for Accelerated Development of the Agroindustrial Complex in the Hilly and Mountain Regions of Yugoslavia." This research project encompasses a problem area lying within the scientific disciplines of geophysics, hydrology, bioengineering, the social sciences, and economic organization, with emphasis on establishing a typology of mountain farming so that it can compete and cooperate with agriculture in the plains or complement it.

Another important measure envisaged by the compact is the preparation of food balances at all levels of sociopolitical communities and for major consumers (cities, industrial and tourist centers). The idea of preparing these balances arose in the "Conference on Feeding the Civilian Population and the Armed Forces in a Nationwide Defensive War," which was held in 1972 in Belgrade. The materials of that conference stated: "The food balance should be the basis for overall preparations of production, for reserves, for synchronization of plans, and for organization of food service for the civilian population and the armed forces in all sociopolitical communities."<sup>9</sup> The idea of the food balance of the basic foundation and instruments governing the development and preparation of the agroindustrial complex for a nationwide defensive war was incorporated in a section of the compact entitled "Organization of the Market and the Reserves System." It was agreed that sociopolitical communities and major consumers would take steps in accordance with the balances to conclude long-term contracts for production and to enhance the functions of commodity reserves, including construction and equipping of storage facilities.

Implementation of the Compact on the Basic Components of the Yugoslav Social Plan for Development of the Agroindustrial Complex in the Period From 1976 to 1980 will considerably improve the consistency between needs and capabilities on the basis of the regional principle of supply, and thereby increase the degree of reliability of food supply in a nationwide defensive war.

## Congruity Between Peacetime Development Plans and National Defense Plans in the Agroindustrial Complex

The peacetime development of the agroindustrial complex is defined on the basis of results of supply and demand, and investments are based on income and market criteria. The requirements of supply in a nationwide defensive war are expressed in terms of the regional orientation of production, regulated movement of raw and processed foods in accordance with the long-term demand of regional markets and the necessary depthwise deployment and suitable location of permanent commodity reserves. This is indeed the physical basis of supply on which one can count in wartime. However, the entire complex as a system functions in peacetime in the direction of economic optimization or at least strives in its operation to meet that criterion. In case of a war the criterion of its operation is changed to some extent. The aim of wartime production is to produce as much food as possible, to achieve the highest production of calories per unit of available land area, since land is the principal production factor. This means that wartime production should be governed by the principle of maximization of production. This goal can be achieved if national defense plans of sociopolitical communities are compiled in peacetime, particularly for the regions in the central part of the country, on the principle of so-called integrated planning. In this mode of planning wartime production the initial planning elements would be the following: the available land area and its production potential, the amount of work needed, the amount of other production factors needed, supply allowances based on rationing, and the resulting needs for food, etc.

Using one of the methods of operations research, one establishes relations between these quantities and certain variables in these relations to obtain a model whose solution would meet the following conditions:

- i. the criterion of maximization of food production;
- ii. consistency of plant and livestock production with the desired level of human nutrition;
- iii. minimum preparation of production factors which must be made and maintained in peacetime so that the transition can be made to wartime production;
- iv. determination of the composition and size of food reserves as a complementary source of current supply to conform to production and to the rate of its reorientation to meet wartime needs.

Another problem of congruity concerns production programs, especially in that part of the agroindustrial complex referred to as the food processing industry. Under peacetime conditions production technology is steadily improving. Under wartime conditions it will be difficult to achieve production conditions for use of the very best technology. Simplified and semi-industrial technology with improvisations and ingenuities of the experts will be more common and frequent. The technological designs (reserve

technology) for wartime conditions should therefore be prepared in peacetime, and the technologist should be furnished the necessary knowledge along those lines in peacetime.

## Conclusion

The agroindustrial complex is an important element in the system of nationwide defense. The successful waging of combat against the aggressor depends on performance of its functions, along with those of other factors.

External factors and the effects of military operations, which determine the conditions under which the agroindustrial complex operates in wartime, stand in the way of its adaptation and rapid transition from peacetime operation to the wartime mode of operation. For that reason and because of the socialization of national defense affairs as conceived in the documents containing our war doctrine and in legislation, guidance of the peacetime development and organization of the agroindustrial complex in accordance with socioeconomic goals and interests, which also include the interests of the system of nationwide defense, is the principal way of preparing it for a nationwide defensive war.

The present status of the production and supply complex, which constitutes the material foundation for supply in wartime, is not sufficiently in line with the requirements of the system of supply (the regional principle) in a nationwide defensive war. Therefore, in order to increase the reliability of supply the Compact on the Basic Components of the Yugoslav Social Plan for Development of the Agroindustrial Complex in the Period From 1976 to 1980 has defined goals of interest to national defense and the measures to achieve those goals. Scientific institutions in the agroindustrial complex will have topics for their research work in finding certain specific solutions.

Although the peacetime development of the agroindustrial complex is the way of preparing it for a nationwide defensive war, because of the drop in quantity and quality of production factors in wartime, and thereby the size of output as well, it is essential that preparations for wartime production be carried out so that they ensure maximum production of raw and processed foods (calories) per hectare of arable land even under the most difficult conditions of aggression. For that reason we must base the necessary planning of wartime production on the principle of integrated planning, and up-to-date scientific methodologies should be used. There is also a need to prepare for organizations of associated labor a reserve technology which can be achieved under wartime conditions.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Federal Secretariat for National Defense, "Strategija oruzane borbe" [The Strategy of Armed Conflict], Vojna stamparija, Belgrade, 1976, p 29.

2. "Vojna enciklopedija" [Military Encyclopedia], Vol 3, p 653. A time and motion study has established that a soldier in the YPA expends between 3,412 and 4,081 calories of energy. Expenditures increase by 200-960 calories during movement in the mountains. Nighttime, a muddy track, moving against the wind, and snow increase energy expenditures by 20-30 percent. Dr Nikola Nikolic: "Higijena drustvene ishrane" [The Hygiene of Social Nutrition], Veselin Maslesa, Sarajevo, 1955, p 93: "In the uninterrupted battles of the Fifth Offensive the nutritional 'balance' of the Yugoslav Partisans from the standpoint of physiology and hygiene was far from the physiological norms now recognized in science ... it was about 1,400 calories daily, instead of 5,000-6,000-7,000 calories."
3. Federal Secretariat for National Defense, op. cit., p 44.
4. Gen Col Viktor Bujanj: "Doktrina pobjede" [The Doctrine of Victory], p 23.
5. Natural factors (land, climate, etc.) and specific features (the growing season, organic production, etc.).
6. From an address by Gen Col Viktor Bujanj to the 23d graduating class of lieutenants from the Land Forces Military Academy in 1970.
7. Federal Secretariat for National Defense, op. cit., p 196.
8. Law on National Defense, Article 70.
9. From the summary of the conference.

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